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# THE JESUITS

## AN HISTORICAL STUDY

BY

H. BOEHMER
Professor, University of Leipzig

Translated from
The Fourth Revised Edition

BY

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

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Paul Zeller Strodach

HEINRICH BOEHMER, the author of this monograph, was born October 6, 1869, and died March 25, 1927. He was professor of Church History at the University of Leipzig, a Dr. Theol., Dr. Jur., and Dr. Phil., and perhaps the most outstanding scholar in his field in the world. His special interests lay in his studies of Luther and the Reformation, and of the Roman Church, in particular the Company of Jesus. His great scholarship and keen but fair treatment was appreciated and honored by Protestant and Catholic alike.

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# ANIMA CHRISTI

Anima Christi, sanctifica me.
Corpus Christi, salva me.
Sanguis Christi, inebria me.
Aqua lateris Christi, lava me.
Passio Christi, conforta me.
O bone Jesu, exaudi me:
Intra tua vulnera absconde me:
Ne permittas me separari a te:
In hora mortis meae voca me,
Et jube me venire ad te,
Ut cum sanctis tuis laudem te
In saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

---

Soul of Christ, sanctify me!
Body of Christ, save me!
Blood of Christ, inebriate me!
Water from the side of Christ, wash me!
Passion of Christ, strengthen me!
O good Jesu, hear me!
Within Thy Wounds hide me;
Suffer me not to be separated from Thee;
From the evil enemy defend me;
In my hour of death call me;
And command me to come to Thee
That with all Thy saints I may praise Thee
In all ages eternally. Amen.

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*Loyola's Prayer in the *Exercitia Spiritualia*, p. 38; *Ratisbon*, 1855.

# CONTENTS

PAGE

Anima Christi ..... 5

CHAPTER I

The Founder ..... 11

CHAPTER II

The Origin of the Company of Jesus ..... 57

CHAPTER III

The Order in Its Glory ..... 105

Literature ..... 191

# I

# THE FOUNDER

# THE JESUITS

## I

## THE FOUNDER

### Introducing Ignatius of Loyola

The night of Ash Wednesday of the year 1515, in the city of Azpeitia in the Basque Province of Guipuzcoa, was disturbed by such riotous disorders that the corregidor was compelled to make an immediate investigation. He discovered the guilty parties very quickly; but he had to be content with that. For the first of the evil doers proved to be a notorious curate, known to the whole town for his excesses, and the other was a young knight of twenty-three, who when arrested immediately made the startling declaration that he had received the first tonsure and therefore, as likewise his companion, did not have to answer to a civil court.

As no one up to this time had ever noticed anything even slightly resembling a tonsure[1] in connection with this very worldly minded youth, the corregidor considered his assertion a mere frivolous subterfuge. Before he could take any further steps in the matter, and very much to his

[1] A mark which the then authoritative bull of Alexander VI "of blessed memory" described as a papal seal, and therefore was to be respected accordingly.

astonishment, he received a summons from the ecclesiastical court at Pamplona.

With the arrival of this the corregidor realized that the bold young man had in the meantime surrendered himself voluntarily to the spiritual court; and more, had been bold enough to quarter himself in the episcopal prison, and with all the form of law had lodged against him the charge that he had been guilty of violating the privileges of the spiritual order.

The corregidor answered this self-evident situation with a counter-charge, and demanded that his daring accuser be surrendered without delay. But he was unable to convince the spiritual magistracy that their protege was nothing more than a mere layman. The knight apparently had accomplished everything he set out to do: he evaded the sharp claws of civil justice, and came out of the situation either with a small fine or a mere reprimand. For the ecclesiastical law judged the offence with which in every probability he had been accused, namely, disturbing the peace, acts of riot and violence, assault and battery, very mildly, in case the injured person was a layman and the offender a cleric. In this way the ecclesiastical courts made it utterly impossible to punish crimes of this character with the degree of severity which the civil courts universally felt should be done. Situations of this kind were of almost daily occurrence in Spain at this time.

The only thing in this incident which deserves any attention is this: the criminal over whose tonsure the contention arose was no ordinary ruffian or footpad, but the man who later, under the name of Ignatius, became one of the most celebrated saints of the Catholic Church, Don Inigo de Onaz y de Loyola, the founder of the Company of Jesus.

That the name of the great saint appears for the first

time in the records of a criminal court proves quite evidently that he was no saint at that time; and had no ambition to be one. How indeed, in those days, could he have possibly had such high aspirations?

### Loyola's Youth and Early Training

Loyola had learned to read and write while serving as a well-born page in the household of Queen Isabella's chief treasurer, Don Juan Velasquez de Cuellar, at Arevalo in old Castile. He had not been educated for the priesthood but for knighthood; and at that period in his life did not think, even in a dream, of forsaking the world for God's sake, although a very painful disease[2] forced him to give up his occupation for a time and to retire to the castle of his forefathers at Azpeitia. As the youngest of eight sons he had not inherited much more than a great name from his noble lineage; and in spite of his belonging to one of the "twenty-four" great families of Guipuzcoa, and therefore presumably obligated to the traditions of nobility, he expended little thought on this or on the fact that because of his poverty he was compelled to earn his bread as a vassal in strange households. Instead of living quietly in retirement, he now spent his days wholly care-free and conscience-free; and as he had very little to do at Loyola, he used his furlough after the manner of the noble youth of that day in harassing the citizens of nearby Azpeitia with all manner of rowdyish tricks. But he always planned beforehand how he would clear himself in case he might be discovered and required to answer for these escapades. This trait has already been shown very strikingly in the affair of the tonsure; and appears in another of his escapades in an even more pro-

[2] Ozena.

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nounced degree. This affair ended in this wise: A wholly innocent citizen of the little town had been condemned to suffer severe punishment for one of Inigo's nightly robberies without his feeling the slightest compunction over the matter, and not for a moment was he moved to open his lips in behalf of the one unjustly condemned. Such things as these lead to the conclusion that at this period he was more sly and cunning than gallant and genteel, more rough and devil-may-care than noble and valiant, more of a young blade and rowdy than knight and cavalier! Seeing him in those days one would never have supposed that he had been nurtured in one of the noblest houses of Castile or that he had spent some time at the palace of the king in his master's retinue.

### The Junker Inigo

Six years later we find him again at Pamplona, but no longer in such questionable companionship or situations as in the year 1515, but in the distinguished position of an officer of the Viceroy of Navarre. Nevertheless his reputation among the citizens of Pamplona was hardly any better than it had been in former years at Azpeitia. He still appeared to them to be a real junker, indeed the roughest of the hated Spanish nobles whom Navarre had forced into servitude, for had he not, on being jostled accidently in the open street, instantly drawn his sword, intending to avenge the fancied insult on the spot?

### Inigo and Amadis of Gaul

Meanwhile he had not only become perceptibly older but had changed in other respects. The change was due to this: He had been seized for the second time with a very singular sickness; that strange and memorable epidemic which passed through all the castles and guardrooms of Spain like a

spectre, taking unnumbered victims, especially among the younger noblemen,—Don Quixotism,[3]—had seized him also. Whenever his duties permitted, he could be seen sitting quietly in some retired place, poring uninterruptedly over what appeared to be very inspiring and edifying folios. The contents of these venerable volumes was anything but edifying. All of them were of the same class, books on chivalry, that is, the blood and thunder literature of the day. The oldest and most famous of these romances, the *Amadis de Gaula*,[4] seldom failed to inspire its reader with higher aspirations; and at this time this was Inigo's book of books. This insatiable craze for reading was only the first symptomatic result of the new disease. Its culmination was reached in the inclination, which sometimes showed itself of a pathological character but wholly spontaneous, rather automatic,—an inclination to imitate slavishly the actions, manner of words and of thought of Donzel[5] Amadis.

The externalities of the knightly modes naturally played an important role in forming Inigo's manners, especially the little punctilios of the toilette. The latter he copied slavishly: externally he was far from an Amadis. His face and general appearance did not make much of an impression; he was only a bit over five feet two inches tall.

But unlike the majority of the imitators of Amadis, he was not satisfied with these externalities only. He concluded that he would only become like his hero if, following his example, he would single out some lady to whom he could dedicate his service, a lady who by birth and position stood as high above him as the Princess Oriana did above the

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[3] The chivalrous imitation of the famous Don Quixote.
[4] A romance of chivalry, the hero of which was Amadis of Gaul, written by Vasco de Lobeira, 1360?-1403, a Portuguese soldier.
[5] Donzel, a young gallant.

illegitimate foundling Amadis. Therefore not a mere countess or duchess but a real princess or queen! Unfortunately he did not reveal the name of the noble lady whom he thought worthy of this honor; but there is good ground to suppose that it was the most aristocratic woman with whom he had come in contact up to this time, the dowager Queen Germana. That Dona Germana was fully eight years older than he, and in addition very fat and intemperate, does not alter this supposition a particle. For it was not love but ambition which determined his choice; not the woman but only the lady to whom, as his beloved, he paid silent but fervid homage from afar. The woman, however, he continued to reverence in the accustomed knightly manner, without any scruple or hesitation. Nor did he feel the slightest sorrow because he was not in a position to approach his lady-love, or, as it appears, because he never saw her again.

### Inigo's Ideal: Its Result

This fanciful urge had its good effect. He now possessed an ideal; and after this he strove to model himself. He formed the habit of observing himself and his surroundings very critically, of disciplining himself more and more severely, of seizing every opportunity, of winning every place and honor and determinedly turning them to his profit. To this end he sought with passionate zeal one duel after another; and on more serious occasions was always in the forefront of the battle. An example of the latter was in the storming of Najera in September, 1520, when he showed marked boldness and courage.

He guarded himself very strictly against committing any act which might dishonor his name or position; and in the circle of his comrades he opposed every dishonorable

scheme or desire with sharp and decisive words. In this he showed that he already possessed to an unusual degree the gift of persuading, influencing, and leading others. The Viceroy also recognized this, and as a result commissioned him in the autumn of 1520 with the difficult task of attempting to reconcile the two parties of nobles in Guipuzcoa which had been at enmity with each other for generations. He stood this test also; his success was far beyond expectations. He succeeded in completely reconciling both parties, thereby ending the internal warfare in the province for all time.

He revealed the incisive, sure judgment of the man of action in everything he undertook; but still remained, notwithstanding his thirty years, a fanciful dreamer always, like the nobles of La Mancha. For hours at a time he could picture to himself the adventures which he as a *chevalier errant*[6] would accomplish some day in honor of his lady; and in his imagination he would plan ways by which he would gain access to his beloved, arranging in fullest detail every gallant word and act with which, some day, too, he would confess his love to her. And all of this he did without ever pausing to ask himself the simple question whether these dreams ever would or could come true.

Farther away, yes farther now than ever before, was all thought of forsaking the world for God's sake and for the good of his soul. He considered himself perfectly secure, just as did many of his compeers, simply because he was not an unbeliever but a Christian; and he also thought that this was something to his credit. But he unquestionably thought that it was a far more important thing to his credit that he was an *old* Christian, that is, that not a drop of Moorish

[6] A wandering knight.

or Jewish blood flowed in his veins. That he went to confession before every important engagement, and on one occasion even wrote a hymn to his patron saint, the holy Peter, merely shows that he practiced faithfully and methodically all that was customary in his circle. This does not necessarily presuppose or demand a personal or vital relationship with the faith which he confessed, nor is such acknowledged by his actions as existing. He himself emphasized, and the facts which he brings forward show that he did not exaggerate, that at that time he was wholly ignorant in spiritual matters, more than that, blind; and that he had not even as much as dimly conceived what humility, repentance, patience were. Nor was there any hope or promise that this might become any different. Whatever spiritual needs he possessed were abundantly satisfied by reading Amadis and the other books on chivalry; but these books were utterly unable to give him any religious stimulation. Ever since he had come under their influence he seems to have determined to follow after the vanities of this world for all time. And because of this it is not hard to realize why the holy Ignatius speaks in his *Memoirs* of the junker Inigo as a person with whom inwardly he is absolutely no longer united.

### St. Ignatius and the Junker Inigo

If one looks a little closer one constantly receives the impression that, in many respects, St. Ignatius was only an older and maturer brother of the "blind fool" Inigo. The rigid discipline of body, tongue, and actions which even then the Spaniards considered an indispensable prerequisite to maintaining a quiet air of gentility in the great and small moments of life (*sosiego*); the practice of constant self-control; the look of command, that is, the gift of seeing

one's way on the instant and of recognizing immediately every departure from the customary rule; the spirit of command, that is, the sense of military order and discipline, the ability rightly to obey and rightly to command, the capacity to grasp all necessary decisions instantly and comprehensively; and lastly, the accurate knowledge of the speech, customs, and manners of the great world,—all these were gifts and achievements for which the holy Ignatius had to thank the junker Inigo. But these gifts and abilities only came into full effectiveness when a cannon-ball tore the junker Inigo out of his care-free life of dreams; and the part of him that was only a "blind fool" slowly disappeared, little by little, in the holy Ignatius.

### The Eventful Day at Pamplona

Early in May, 1521, a French army entered Navarre to contest Charles V's victory over the insurgent cities of Castile. On the nineteenth of that month the hostile vanguard occupied Pamplona, and on the twentieth the commander of the weak Spanish garrison was compelled to treat with the French general concerning the surrender of the citadel, which was not equipped for a prolonged siege. The general demanded an unconditional surrender: he would grant the Spaniards nothing but their lives. They were in a very serious situation; but one of the officers who had accompanied the commander to the enemy's camp urged him to reject this dishonorable demand. This officer was Ignatius Loyola. The old officer could not refuse this appeal made to his honor and knightly duty. He broke off the negotiations, and as soon as he returned to the fortress commanded that the disloyal city be bombarded. The French replied to this immediately with a violent bombardment of the fortress which lasted six hours. Just at the moment when the enemy

formed to deliver the assault a cannon-ball struck the spot where Ignatius awaited them. This shot broke the bones of his lower right leg and at the same time flying splinters made a flesh wound in the calf of his left leg. By this time the fight was over; for, on seeing the columns of the French troops ready for the assault, the Spaniards realized that the only thing left for them to do was to make a quick surrender.

### Inigo's Wounds and Sufferings

Inigo's wounds were not fatal, and, as they had been dressed almost immediately at the command of the French general, the progress of his recovery was so marked in the next few days that the new commander of the city did not hesitate to send him in a litter over the mountains to Loyola early in June. However this generous consideration turned out very disastrously for him. The doctors who had been hurriedly called to Loyola decided that the injured bones of the lower right leg had been forced completely apart, and therefore had to be broken once more and reset. The poor sufferer bore this excruciating agony without emitting a sound. Although at first his condition seemed to be so critical that his relatives had had the last rites administered on June 28th, the operation appeared to have been successful. But shortly after this a large piece of bone was discovered still protruding from the leg; the doctors had forgotten it when operating! This piece, a very ugly looking lump, stuck far out under the knee, and was surrounded by proud flesh. In addition to this the shamefully mishandled leg had become quite perceptibly shorter. The ignorant quacks, of course, instantly and boldly promised to remove this damage entirely! Inigo, persuaded by their promises, determined to permit them to saw the hump off, and to have the shortened leg pulled by stretching machines and massaged

with healing ointments until it would be restored to its original length. He endured this second operation and the month-long torture of the stretching harness with the fortitude and constancy of an Indian at the stake. But notwithstanding all this the leg did not become any longer, and the hope that he might again take up his chosen profession faded from day to day.

In the midst of all this suffering he longed more than ever for his cherished books. But Loyola and Azpeitia were so far behind in culture that they could not find even a copy of the famous *Amadis* for him, but only two very bulky devotional works. One was the *Legends of the Saints* and the other was the Castilian translation of the *Life of Christ* by the Carthusian Ludolf of Saxony; the latter was in four heavy folio volumes. Up to this time Inigo had never deigned to give as much as a glance to such books. One realizes therefore that it was not an easy matter for him to become interested in these unhandy volumes; and it is not at all surprising to find him laying them aside frequently in order that he might give himself to dreaming in his accustomed way for an hour or two of the lady of his heart.

### The Beginning of the Change in Inigo

The first change in the situation came one day when he was reading the *Legends;* at this time he chanced upon the chapters concerning St. Francis and St. Dominic. He was delighted with the many interesting stories about them which he found there. They fascinated him to such a degree that he did precisely what he used to do when reading *Amadis*: he asked himself involuntarily: "What if sometime you were to do what these saints have done?" And thereupon he would picture to himself a multitude of spiritual bravadoes which he imagined himself accomplishing when he would

be a spiritual hero like St. Francis. His idea of the holy life of self-denial consisted wholly in such external feats of fortitude and strength as rigorous fastings, night watchings, and other bodily mortifications. This, however, did not prevent his dreaming, for a change, of the lady of his heart and of all manner of worldly bravadoes a la Amadis; but suddenly one day, and much to his astonishment, he realized that these two kinds of day-dreaming affected his moods in remarkably different ways. When he dreamed of his lady, he experienced a very pleasant animation for a little while, but this was followed very quickly by a condition of great depression. When, on the other hand, he imagined himself going barefooted on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, subsisting only on herbs and undergoing other rigorous mortifications, he experienced a deep, strong feeling of satisfaction which remained with him for a long time, even after he had busied his mind with other thoughts.

### Inigo's First Knowledge in Spiritual Things

He thought these things over constantly; and the more he thought of them the more he became convinced that supernatural powers must be concerned with his experience in some way. Finally he became convinced that the enervating worldly dreams originated with the devil, but the refreshing, spiritual thoughts were inspired by God. "This was the first knowledge he gained in spiritual things,"[1] and certainly the most decisive and far-reaching in results.

What did he realize? Generally speaking, not only that there are heavenly and satanic inspirations; but that he himself was the object of such influences. Realizing this, the simplicity with which he had continued to live his old life

[1] Boehmer occasionally quotes a phrase or word from *Ignatius' Memoirs;* in these Ignatius always speaks of himself in the third person.

up till now, at least in thought, was gone in a twinkling forever. Thereafter whenever the desire to resume this old habit arose he suppressed it instantly by the thought that the real Satan actually lay ambushed in all such temptations. Thus this indolent manner of amusing himself with all kinds of innocent fancies became less and less attractive; it was all a vain and useless game.

### The Decisive Experience

His struggle with the evil enemy came to a decisive issue when, suddenly, one night he believed that he beheld the Holy Virgin with the Baby Jesus in her arms standing before him. After that experience all recollections of the wild pleasures of his youth, which till then had continued to torture him, were obliterated from his mind; there was room in his heart now only for a woman's image, the Holy Virgin's. With this inspiring him, he had found strength at last to determine to live a life of self-denial thereafter, and to begin this with an especially severe spiritual adventure, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. However, all unknown to himself, Amadis still ruled his senses and thinking. If in the past it had been his pleasantest dream to imagine himself journeying through the land as a *chevalier errant,* now he resolved, when once he had completed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to do the same as a *religieux errant*[8]; but he continued to follow in the footsteps of Donzel Amadis more frequently than after the examples of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

### Inigo Begins His Spiritual Adventure

Like a knight starting on an adventure, he rode away from Loyola one day late in February, 1522, without betray-

[8] Wandering penitent.

ing to his anxious relatives even in a last word what he had resolved to do. Later on, on the way, just exactly as Amadis had done at a decisive moment, he left the choice of the road to his mule; and in order to offer further honor to his newly chosen lady, following the customs of worldly knights, he stood watch over his arms. This he did in the Church of Our Lady in the monastery of Montserrat on March 24, 1522. After he had made a general confession, presented his mule to the monks, exchanged his knight's garb for the pilgrim's cloak, and hung his sword at the high altar, he spent the entire night, now kneeling, now standing, but always with the pilgrim's staff in his hand, before the famous, age-blackened, wonder-working image of the Madonna. With the dawn of day he received holy communion, and thereupon began his first wanderings as a *religieux errant*. Barcelona was the first objective.

### Manresa

Since, like the *chevaliers errants,* he placed the greatest importance on remaining unknown, he did not take the direct road to the city,—for then he could not have escaped meeting old acquaintances,—but followed the very circuitous way through the little town of Manresa, where it appears he bought his pilgrim's clothing at auction, and hoped to rest a few days in the hospital of St. Lucia. On his arrival at Manresa he learned that the harbor at Barcelona had been closed on account of the plague and that all maritime traffic had been suspended. He had no other recourse than to remain at Manresa for the present. However, since he was compelled to wait, the period of waiting, he determined, at least should not pass by unused; he would employ it in learning and practicing all the virtues which he was convinced he would need as a *religieux errant*. Following this resolu-

tion he immediately denied himself the enjoyment of meat and wine on all work-days; allowed his hair and nails, on which hitherto he had bestowed much care, to grow; scourged himself thrice daily; always rose at midnight for prayer, in addition to praying six hours during the day; attended divine worship three times daily, mass, vespers and compline, and went to confession and to mass regularly on Sundays; and gathered daily by humble begging the little that he needed for his sustenance.

### Inigo's Spiritual Experiences and Struggles

The more earnestly he persisted in his penitential practices, the more his complete break with long-standing and deep-rooted habits and views disturbed him and seemed to contend within him. His most stirring experiences in the past had never moved him so deeply as these through which he was now passing. During the earliest of these days he believed that he had seen in broad daylight a "something with many glittering snake's eyes" standing before him, and heard a voice say to him: "Do you really believe that you will be able to persevere in this miserable sort of a life all of fifty years?"

Although he mastered this temptation quite easily, his inner life became very unstable. At one time he would feel so discontented and depressed that even prayer and the mass disgusted him utterly; at another time his feelings would be quite the opposite, free, vigorous and happy, just as if his troubled mood had been lifted from his soul in an instant, like a burdensome garment. This was another entirely new experience, and it disturbed and worried him. He therefore turned to every pious person possible seeking counsel; among them the aged Beata of Manresa; but she could not help him. On the contrary she only added to his uncertainty and

disquiet with a remark, which was entirely unintelligible to him: "Would that it might please the Lord Jesus to appear to you sometime!" Gradually this worrisome changing of moods stopped of itself, and simply because it did he would feel the most vexatious scruples of conscience whenever he went to confession and communed. At first he thought that this was due to and connected with something in his past life, something that he had forgotten and therefore had omitted in his confession at Montserrat. He hastened to remedy this supposed neglect immediately; but notwithstanding this the scruples returned. Then, following the counsel of a priest, he again made a very complete general confession; but this also failed utterly to bring him peace of heart.

### The "New Man"

At first he had experienced these worries only in connection with the confession which he made every Sunday; but soon he experienced them doing the week, and at last uninterruptedly, wherever he went, whatever he did, for days, weeks, months on end. At length this feeling of anxiety became so overpowering that one Sunday in July he was tempted to end his misery suddenly, violently, by jumping out of the window. But he came to his right senses in time, and having become somewhat less disturbed, resolved to try something of which he had read in a story in the *Legends of the Saints:* he would eat nothing whatever until God heard his prayer for inward peace. He carried out this resolution immediately. On the following Sunday his father confessor urged him to end this heroic cure. However it seemed as if he had accomplished his purpose. For two days he felt entirely free of all anxiety or distress; but on the Tuesday following the "scruples" returned with so much added force that he no longer knew what to do. But

one thought was uppermost and insistent now: "Get out of this miserable life; go back into the world where there is no such anguish of spirit!" Scarcely had this tempting suggestion taken possession of his mind, when suddenly he felt as if he had awakened from a long, deep sleep. He recalled at once his first spiritual experience which had come to him about a year before when he lay upon the bed of pain at Loyola. Involuntarily he compared all that he had experienced in the last four months with this, and came to this conclusion, which seemed the logical one to him: "These qualms of conscience which vex me so terribly are a work of the devil." Then from this conclusion, he came just as logically to this resolution: "From henceforth he would not say anything more about those old, long-absolved sins when he went to confession thereafter." From that hour he felt free and happy. "The new man," it seems, had been born at last amid much travail.

### Loyola and Luther Compared

It is customary to compare Loyola's soul-struggle with Luther's. But can this comparison be either fair or conclusive? Loyola's inner experiences during the four months from April to July of 1522, at first glance, remind one very much of Luther's during the years 1505 to 1513. Loyola, as did Luther, struggles visibly for the certainty of forgiveness. That which worries him here is not, as was the case with Luther, uncertainty about the relationship in which God of his very Being,—therefore fundamentally,—stands toward sinful man, who, indeed, can never be entirely free from sin; but the question, "Whence comes the anxiety I experience over the old sins, long since confessed and absolved, and therefore forgiven?" For this reason Loyola does not recognize in this troubling of conscience, as Luther

did, the natural and normal consequence of his sinful condition; for he does not realize that his whole inner being is in some way sin-infected. On the contrary, he is convinced that since his conversion he has not committed any more mortal sins, and, as a consequence of this, he must therefore earnestly guard himself against the tempting thought that he is a wholly righteous man. He is unable to comprehend entirely the cause and meaning of those scruples, and therefore, simply because he does not comprehend them, feels that after all they are not so grievous. In the midst of this troublesome and painful situation he tries to help himself, just as did Luther, especially by making frequent, very detailed and accurate confessions. But that which always made the greatest impression on Luther in confession, the reference to the mercy of God and the exhortation to hope in God, passes over Loyola without having any apparent effect or leaving the slightest trace, because he only keeps asking: "Whence come these scruples?" and, "How will I be free of them?"—and not as did Luther: "How does God feel toward me?" Luther, therefore, first seeks to master his inner need when he realizes: "God, essentially, is all love and compassion." But Luther only harvests the fullness of this realization when he becomes convinced that he is not merely concerned with a pious supposition, say of John Staupitz or of St. Bernard, but with a reality entirely independent of all human imagining or desiring, one based on a "simple, clear verse" of Holy Scripture and therefore irrefutable.

Loyola did not seek or need any instruction about the true Being and will of God. He only wanted and sought an explanation of the cause of his "scruples." In the moment when he realizes, "It is none other than Satan who has placed you in such anxieties," these "scruples" are gone

from him forever. That this was more of an assumption at which he had grasped because he desired to than a realization which he had followed because he had to, never entered Loyola's comprehension. As far as his inner development is concerned, those four months have a radically different meaning from that of the hard years from 1505 to 1513 in Luther's experience. While Luther in his long struggle to find a gracious God at last arrives at entirely new realizations and at the same time attains the understanding that until now he had been following along a false way, Loyola, through the experiences of these few months, is only the more firmly convinced that ever since his conversion he has always been on the right way. New perceptions, to say nothing of new perceptions of such powerful influence as those which dawned on Luther through Romans 1:16-17, Loyola had in no wise attained at that time.

### Loyola and the "Imitation of Christ"

It was not until after that period that Loyola experienced an inner change through which he became, little by little, something like a "new man," that is, a man with new understanding, ideas, and purposes. This change, however, was brought about by entirely new experiences and through acquaintance with a new book. This book ever thereafter was *the* book of all books to him, and to his last breath he ever strove to model himself inwardly and outwardly according to its teachings. Because of his love for it, he recommended its use in his *Exercises* even before the Bible, and tried in every way to gain for it widespread appreciation. This book was Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ.*

What was there in the *Imitation* that had made such a great impression on Loyola? First of all the teaching which was entirely new to him, that the "sanctified" life did not

consist alone in mortification of the flesh but in the "reformation of the soul," the cleansing and hallowing of the inner man, and in that state of mind which results in complete tranquility and full surrender to the will of God. Then the assertion: "The most important of all holy exercises is inner prayer or the adoring submersion of self in the 'mysteries of God.'" And last, the admonition: "As the external life requires a certain discipline and order so likewise does the inner; therefore the devotee must search his conscience *daily;* daily set for himself some definite spiritual task; in short, *practice* his inner life *methodically in spiritual exercises.*"

These ideas had not found their first expression in the *Imitation.* They are characteristic of all the mysticism of the Netherlands. They are found also in another book which Inigo certainly must have read at that time, the *Ejercitatorio della vida espiritual,* by Garcia Cisneros, abbot of Montserrat. This book is only an abstract of the *Reformation of the Powers of the Soul,* by Gerhard Zerbolt of Zuetphen, and of the *Rosetum spiritualium exercitiorum* by Jean Momboir of Brussels. But Inigo was first drawn to these ideas by the *Imitation.* Indeed he was won so completely by them that forthwith he busied himself with the writing of a manual of instruction for spiritual exercises. But much more important than this was the fact that due to this influence he gave up the practice of his own ideas of outward devotion by which he had been captivated up to this time, and turned to very definite methods of inner devotion, modeling them after those practiced at one time in the circle of the Brothers of the Common Life.

This change was a gradual one, in much the same manner as had been the transition from the ideals of Amadis to the ideals of the *Legends.* Up to 1529 he continued to place

great importance on all manner of external mortifications, such as going barefooted, severe fastings, miserable and odd clothing. And only in 1539, in the famous Constitution of the order, is he shown as having grown so far away from these old ideas that he considers such external practices, in so far as he still considers them something which his followers ought to practice, to be valuable and permissible only as means for the training of character and mind.

### Loyola's Visions

According to Thomas à Kempis and his followers resignation and tranquility are not the highest things to which man can and should attain. These merely are the indispensable pre-requisites for something higher and greater, the vision of God or the union of that part of the divine confined in the soul with the undivided Godhead. Inigo never grasped this sublime, mystic teaching entirely. He conceived of the vision of God far more realistically, quite after the example of the aged Beata, whom, because of her visions, he considered a person unusually experienced in spiritual things. And actually, Loyola presently *did* see God in his own way!

While at Manresa he had had a profusion of visions and other supernatural experiences. He had had quite frequent visions of a "great round something shining like gold"; or of a "sun," Jesus Christ; of a burning ball, "somewhat larger than the sun," the Holy Trinity; of a "white something," the humanity of Christ; of another "white something," the entire Christ; of a "very powerful flash like lightning," the Being of the Godhead; of a "sort of white body," the Virgin Mary, etc. These visions at Manresa he had regarded principally as somewhat of the nature of instruction. He says later that God had taught him in these

strange ways about the nature of the Holy Trinity, the creation of the world, the nature of Christ, the transubstantiation of the host in the mass, and other mysteries of the faith. The impression which these mysteries made upon him was so profound that he would have believed in them with unwavering faith as long as he lived even if he had never found a word about them in the Bible. Later on in life he always had such visions whenever he experienced great inner or external distress. Other experiences were added to these: more rarely he believed he heard something like celestial voices or heavenly music; and still more rarely he had the impression that certain words "were imprinted on his heart by God." He experienced frequent illuminations, that is moments of ecstatic uplift, but without accompanying apparitions. Of all the things revealed to him in such experiences apparently nothing remained in his memory. Indeed of the first and greatest of all these illuminations, the one which had made the deepest impression upon him, which he received on the bank of the Cardoner near Manresa at the end of July or the beginning of August, 1522,—of this he could not even tell to which of the mysteries of the faith it had related.

### The Effect of the Visions

Loyola never doubted that all these visions, "messages," inspirations, illuminations always contained actual revelations. He drives away with his staff that strange something with the many glittering snake's eyes, Satan, as one would drive away a mad dog. He speaks with God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, as with someone actually, visibly present; and, for a time, he keeps an accurate record of these experiences. We possess the remains of such a book from the year 1544. From this

may be gathered that he observed very exactly what happened round about and within him. He notes quite methodically what he saw and what he felt: whether he cried, and how often he cried; and whether it was just an ordinary weeping or a veritable flood of tears or a paroxysm of weeping with sobbings, etc. For he did not consider a devotion without tears a genuine devotion! He entered upon his devotions therefore very deliberately determined to "weep the while"; and carried this out at times to such an extent that he feared he would lose his eyesight. Of far greater importance, however, is what he relates here, and again later in greater detail in his *Confessions,* of the success and achievements of these visions. He records frequently and expressly that "he beheld with the inner vision," that is, not with this bodily "eyes" (he had probably closed them), for when he beheld visions he prayed. He always either closed his eyes while praying or fastened them on a definite spot. With this he would harmonize,—synchronize!—his breathing, like the Hindu ecstatics. Like them, too, he trained himself in the practice of "gazing," i. e., staring.

What then did he see with this "inner vision" when at length he "found" God? No actual likeness, but one now disk-shaped, now in the form of a ball; at another time, a formless splendor; or again, single rays of light. Only when he had interpreted them did these become manifestations *to him* of Christ, or of the Mother of God, or of the Holy Spirit. Under certain conditions the same "manifestations" could have quite a variety of "meanings" for him. But if the "meaning" or interpretation which he preferred at that moment sometimes seemed scarcely required, it was not necessarily on account of this the result of a deliberately pre-conceived choice! As his own statements show, he

always beheld in this fashion what he was thinking about with particular fervor.

When the experiences of other dreamers are compared with his, two things are immediately apparent. The extraordinary uniformity of Inigo's experiences and their story. One dare scarcely say that he possessed a particularly lively and fruitful imagination. On the other hand his phantasy or imagination must, of its very nature, have been one which reacted quite unevenly, since at one time it would be weak, at another time strong. However the inner content of such experiences is very uniform. This shows that he was a "man of few truths," that is, of few ideas, as Lainez says of him; but he was a man of the old truths: for the few ideas he had always are age-old, well known, and universally acknowledged in the Catholic world. He possessed neither desire nor imagination, or even the talent, to describe his experiences interestingly and vividly. One frequently gets the impression that it was difficult for him to find the right word to express his thought. Even when he writes Spanish, he expresses himself stiffly, ceremoniously and barely correctly. Spanish was the only language which he had mastered to any great extent. He never attained mastery of Latin; and never learned Italian and French correctly, although he spent seven years in France and fully twenty-one in Italy. He therefore was quite deficient in those things which usually distinguished the other mystics and visionaries. One who knows nothing more about him than the accounts and descriptions of his ecstatic experiences will never be tempted to consider him a particularly intellectual person. But one is hardly fair to him when one judges him only by what he had in common with all other mystics and visionaries, for he does possess something which distinguishes him from all the others. This individuality is the char-

acteristic attitude which he maintained toward his ecstatic experiences; this was already the case as early as the Manresa days.

### Loyola's Control of His Visions

If these ecstasies took him by surprise at some unseasonable hour, as, for example, at night during the hours of rest, or in daytime during the hours of study, and hindered him in his observance of his set rules of life which he had devised so carefully "in the sight of God"; or if, instead of the longed for refreshment and peace, inner anguish and depression followed them, then he repelled them with all firmness as satanic temptations. Thus from the very beginning he yielded to these experiences only when he desired to. He never permitted them to enslave his understanding and will. In this way he attained control over them and himself so that in later days he was never taken by surprise by "illuminations, visitations, comforts," at unseasonable hours. Such experiences happened to him only when he wanted to have them; further, he always "found God," that is, received visions, illuminations, comforts, at will. Thus his understanding always controlled and submerged his imagination, his conscious volition, the disturbing agitation of his senses which surged out of the depths of the unconscious. He could lose his power of speech during these ecstasies quite opportunely; but he never completely lost his ability to control, criticize, and analyze the impulses of his inner being, especially if he desired to recognize in these ecstasies a working of superterrestrial influences. This constant control was just as much of a necessity to him as breathing; and, since he always practiced it, he became such a master of it that, at length, he came to know his self to the most hidden depths. He would never have been able

to accomplish this had he not worked on himself with iron will and likewise trained his inner self.

The goal which was ever before him was the ancient goal of all mysticism, sanctification of oneself. However, he is to be distinguished from the old mystics in that he went about the attainment of this very methodically and systematically, so systematically in fact that he even attempted to demonstrate graphically to himself what progress he was making in sanctification. This he did experimentally, that is, with the help of a so-called "system of measurements," which had been devised for this purpose and which he had discovered somewhere. Whether, as he asserts toward the end of his life, he really succeeded by the use of this means in keeping himself free of very mortal sin, posterity must determine to its own satisfaction. But one thing he most certainly did attain thereby, namely, a mastery over self which approached the superhuman.

### Loyola's Physical Sufferings

It seems that he was seldom without bodily sufferings. Just as he had endured the most painful operations while at Loyola without making as much as a single complaint, so in later years he bore the dreadful sufferings caused by gallstones and toothache without betraying outwardly any signs of his agonies. When one realizes the multitude of his many-sided activities during the last twenty-one years of his life, one can hardly credit the fact that during all these years he was a great and almost constant sufferer.

### His Self-Control—Other Characteristics

He was just as indifferent toward painful inner experiences and shocks. It is reported of him that on receiving a very evil report, "all the bones in his body shook";

but no one was aware of this, for he had such perfect control over his tongue that even in such moments never a rash word slipped out; and he was so completely master over his facial muscles that even the movements of his eyelashes seemed wholly natural to his followers who stood by. He not only could control absolutely every undesired display of feelings on his part, but, on the other hand, he could actually produce at will definite manifestations of emotion. According to the necessity, at times he would be kindly, at others repellently stern; now talkative, then uncommunicative; now paternally gentle, then passionately angry. He simply commanded his emotions now to do this, now to do that, whenever it appeared necessary; and this he did deliberately and accurately just as though his inner feelings were some well-cared-for electrical apparatus responsive to the gentlest touch. This feat is accomplished now and then to-day by people who occupy positions of great authority.

But Inigo did even more difficult things. He not only knew how to subject his emotions to the absolute control of his will, but from the very outset he also disciplined and trained his power of imagination in the school of contemplative prayer so that it obeyed instantly, and permitted him to experience visions, illuminations, and visitations whenever he desired. Thus, apparently, he had such perfect control over himself that he could do whatever he wanted to with himself. He worked with, manipulated, his feelings just as an engineer does the machine he has built. This remarkable self-control was his unique gift and accomplishment; and at the same time it is evidence that he was entirely healthy spiritually, for it presupposes a clarity and acuteness of thought and an intensity of clearsighted determination which are never symptomatic of those who are psychopathic. The fact that he believed he was able to ex-

perience revelations and therefore also *did* experience them, does not disprove this diagnosis, but is explained simply by the fact that he was a product of the sixteenth century.

### His Influence Over Others

For one who knows himself accurately and is accustomed to observe himself uninterruptedly, as was the case with Inigo, it will not be a difficult matter to observe others also just as systematically until he learns to know them thoroughly. And one who governs himself so completely will, like a magnet, influence people of weaker psychic make-up, even if it is not his deliberate intention to attract them to himself.

It was no wonder then that wherever Inigo went he quickly found disciples who subordinated themselves to him almost slavishly as though that were just the natural thing to do. It is a well-known fact that at the beginning of his career fashionable women were attracted to him; later on, principally men, and frequently men who were by far his superiors in mentality and education. But he never would have succeeded in holding such personalities permanently, men who were so much his superior in many respects, had he influenced them only through the superiority of his will. The chief thing that was responsible for this indissoluble union was that Inigo understood how to "help their souls" and inspire them with ideals in which he believed and which he served with every power of mind and soul to his last breath.

### His Pilgrimage to Jerusalem

Already durng the days at Manresa, during his intercourse with the pious women who had gathered about him without any effort on his part to attract them, Inigo had become convinced that his special call was "to help souls."

But he felt that Jerusalem was a far more suitable place for his ministry than any place in Europe. He therefore resolved to emigrate to the holy city and labor there as a "helper of souls" for the remainder of his life. With this end in view, he left Manresa in February, 1523. He did not reach his desired goal until the fourth of September, when he arrived at Jerusalem at ten o'clock in the morning after a most difficult and adventurous journey. Unfortunately the papal vicar of Mt. Zion had utterly no sympathy for him and his purposes; and on the twenty-third of September he was compelled to begin the journey back with some other pilgrims. During the long voyage back to Venice he had plenty of time to think over what God wanted him to do now.

### His Lack in Education

He was convinced more firmly than ever now that he had been called definitely to be a helper of souls; but he also realized that he needed more education if he was to prosecute this calling successfully. For this reason he began to study Latin with great zeal in a private school at Barcelona during the summer of 1524. Even then he used all of his spare time to care for souls; and once more those who committed themselves to his spiritual care were chiefly women, many of them of the higher stations in life. But he recognized the importance of winning men also who might aid him in his labors. He succeeded in finding three such helpers in Barcelona; these subordinated themselves to him unconditionally.

### Alcala

When, during the summer of 1526, he determined "to study for a while," these three followers journeyed with him to Alcala, and assisted him in continuing his pastoral activities there in a greater measure than before. He con-

sidered study wholly a matter of secondary importance to his chief work, at least for the time being. He considered his chief duty to be to aid as many as possible by means of the peculiar soul-cure which he had devised in the meantime as a result of his own experiences at Manresa; and then to gather these people whom he had "cured" in this manner into a closed fellowship. Thus already in these earlier days he appears as the founder of a kind of community.

### The Grey-coats

For his companions and himself he adopted a distinctive and rather striking habit, and on account of it they were nicknamed *Ensayalados,* "Grey-coats." As had been the case at Barcelona, his efforts met with a greater response among the women than in any other quarter; this was especially true among serving women, apprentice girls and poor widows who earned their bread as weavers. But the month-long soul-cure which had benefited his disciples so much had a very bad effect upon some of these women. Ten of them fell into swoons and convulsions, but this did not shake their confidence in Inigo's guidance in any way. In the course of time he set a limit to the number to whom he would administer his soul-cure; and thus this group of the "Brothers and Sisters in Christ" assumed, more and more, the nature of a conventicle.

### The Inquisition Investigates Loyola

However, the ecclesiastical authorities at Alcala were not so tolerant as those at Barcelona. In November, 1526, the little community was very much alarmed by the news that the Inquisition from Toledo had arrived to investigate whether Inigo belonged to the Alumbrados or not. This was a heretical sect of mystics who believed that those illum-

inated by the Holy Ghost had become totally sanctified and could not sin any more and no longer needed any church.

### Loyola Charged With Heresy

About Christmas-time the vicar-general of Alcala ordered the Grey-coats to lay aside their peculiar habit and to discontinue their religious assemblies. On the twenty-first of April, 1527, he had Inigo arrested on the suspicion of heresy. The vicar could not support this suspicion with fact, but he thought it would be wise to end the activities of the Grey-coats. Therefore, on the first of June, he ordered them, under pain of the great excommunication and exile from the Castilian States, not to perform any pastoral act of any kind whatsoever in the next two years. But Inigo had absolutely no inclination or intention to give up his call as a helper of souls; therefore, still in June, he and his companions left Alcala with the intention of journeying to Salamanca. Here also, almost immediately, he gathered a little community from among the citizens. In July he was arrested once more, and accused of being an Alumbrado. The trial ended somewhat more to his advantage than the one at Alcala had. The episcopal court was more lenient; it did not forbid his ministering to souls; but it did forbid him and his associates the right to define and distinguish between mortal and pardonable sins until they had completed four more years of study. Inigo felt that according to this judgment of the court his spiritual labors in Salamanca would be sadly crippled; and therefore it seemed impossible to him to remain there any longer under those circumstances.

### Paris and the University

Where should he turn? Inigo realized that his experience would be much the same at any of the small Spanish univer-

sities as it had been at Alcala and Salamanca. He therefore determined to leave Spain and go to Paris where, at that time, many Spaniards were studying. He instructed his companions to follow him shortly, but not until he had succeeded in finding a free lodging-place in one of the many colleges of the university, for he realized that all of them could not hope to live successfully in that strange city merely on begging.

Inigo reached Paris February 2, 1528. With his arrival there it seemed as if the time had come at last when it would be possible for him to prosecute his labors as a missioner to the people entirely in the way his heart desired. But the change in localities necessitated a change in aims and in the nature of his activity. As he was a foreigner he could not come into contact with the masses at all. He recognized therefore from the outset that the sphere of his activities in the cure of souls would have to be confined almost entirely to the university, and there especially to the Spanish masters and students. But he could not hope to gain much of an influence over them until he had become more of a scholar himself; therefore he busied himself immediately with study, far more earnestly than he had ever done before.

In the course of time his plans for the future, due to the new influences under which he was now living, assumed a different character. He gave up all thought of entering some monastery at the conclusion of his studies, or of wandering from place to place as a *religieux errant*. Instead, he determined once more to attempt to establish himself at Jerusalem as a "soul-helper"; but remembering his former experience there he had to take into account the possibility that this attempt also might not be successful. Therefore he resolved, in case he would not be permitted to remain at Jerusalem, or perchance might not even succeed in reaching

there, to offer his services to the pope. For the moment this was nothing more than a notion, a future possibility. But we must ask, How did he arrive at this notion?

### Loyola and the "Lutheranists"

We know that the burning question of the day at the University of Paris was whether Luther or the pope was in the right. Inigo therefore had to come to a decision on this question; and we are able to determine accurately just how he decided. He avoided on principle all intercourse with the "Lutheranists," and exhorted all students who were close to him to shun the heretics, and to attend the lectures of loyal Catholic professors and masters only. His reputation because of this was so well known among the student body that when, at the end of October, 1534, Francis I of France began to persecute the Lutherans, not a few of those who held so-called Lutheran views and who indeed had the boldness to argue, but lacked the courage to suffer for their convictions, humbly turned to him in the hope that through his intervention they might gain forgiveness from the Inquisition.

The strong Catholic convictions which he had brought with him from Spain became, under the force of the Lutheran propaganda at Paris, much more decidedly partisan in favor of "the orthodox, catholic, hierarchical Church." This partisanship did not express itself only in words, but also in deeds which proved that he was ready to obey and serve the hierarchical Church "unconditionally." A determination to offer his services to the pope grew quite naturally out of his attitude. This was in July, 1524, at the latest; and he then began to think very seriously how he might best serve the pope. But his next immediate objective was not Rome, but Jerusalem; and his next immediate task not the service of the

pope, but the cure of souls according to the principles and methods which, since 1522, he had tested again and again. At that time he gave as little thought to the idea that it was his principal and peculiar vocation to fight the heretics as he did to the founding of a new order.

### Again Denounced Before the Inquisition

In the meantime he made every effort to persuade the companions who had remained in Salamanca to come to Paris; but this was all in vain; and his efforts to win new disciples among the Spanish masters and students failed likewise. The only success these efforts met with was establishing a questionable reputation for himself among his fellow students from Spain; and the result of this was that one of the most influential of the masters denounced him as a heretic before the Inquisition in September, 1529. It was not at all difficult for Inigo to convince the inquisitor of the impossibility of proving the suspicion; but he became convinced that thereafter he would have to discontinue his efforts in behalf of the students' souls, and confine himself in the immediate future strictly to study. This he did in the College of St. Barbe, which he had entered October 1, 1529. Notwithstanding all the zeal which he expended in the effort to acquire learning, the results were merely "mediocre accomplishments."

### At the College of St. Barbe

The methods of instruction in vogue at St. Barbe, and wholly characteristic of that College, made a very strong impression on him. His suspicion of humanism, which he had brought with him from Spain, now disappeared entirely when he realized that humanism strove to develop the mental faculties, and that the methods used and the purposes could be united readily and safely with the most rigid Catholic

orthodoxy. Although his age prevented him from becoming a humanist (classicist) successfully, from that time forward he laid the greatest stress on the necessity of his disciples acquiring a thorough going classical education. For a while he was left quite to himself at St. Barbe; and he succeeded only very slowly in disarming the suspicions of the principal, the masters, and the students, and in winning a few of his younger fellow students to his ideals.

### The First Followers at Paris—Lefevre

Inigo's first recruits were two table companions; he had also occupied the same room with these young men since October 1, 1529; and had approached them with great circumspection. These men were Pierre Lefèvre, the son of a French farmer, from Villarette in Savoy, and a young Basque nobleman, Francesco de Jassu y Javier (Xavier), of Javier in upper Navarre. At first he was more closely associated with Lefèvre because they studied together; but the association became much more intimate after he had helped the poor young man out of his financial difficultes. For Inigo was in no need of money, thanks to the gifts which he received from Spanish merchants in Bruges and London and from his old friends, the devoted women in Barcelona. Inigo also helped him to overcome his inner doubts; he stilled his qualms of conscience, and soon gained such an influence over the earnest and painfully conscientious youth that he gave Inigo his allegiance for always.

### Xavier

But the other roommate cost him much more effort. This very worldly minded youth, whose highest ambition was to receive a rich living at the cathedral at Pamplona, was one of the numerous groups of students who treated the bigotted

old knight, who was such a poor student, as a ridiculous person. But the old knight understood how to win him, too. He went about it slowly, deliberately, and perhaps somewhat craftily, too. At first he got a little closer to him by giving him money; then he won the ambitious youth's friendship by finding a scholar for him, on whom he could make his first attempt at teaching. Only after he had gone this far successfully did he make the firse effort to "help his soul." Inigo went about this in this way: One day he reminded the youth of the verse in the Gospel: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" This word touched Xavier's heart. But for a long time he preferred to listen to others and not to Inigo, especially to one who had been a scholar of Melanchthon and who at that time was his Greek teacher, and to other Lutherans. Inigo succeeded only by degrees in drawing him away from intercourse with these suspected persons; and it was not until the end of 1533, after having occupied the same room with him for months, that he finally got as close to this restless, sanguine youth as he wanted to.

### Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla

Inigo also won two young Castilians, who had entered St. Barbe in October, 1533, much more quickly, and one other. These were Diego Lainez, of an ancient Jewish family of Almazan, and Alonzo Salmeron, of Toledo, and one of the older Spanish students, who was one of the number whom Inigo had helped financially, Nicolas Alfonso of Bobadilla. Sometime before this a young Portuguese nobleman had joined him. This youth, a stipendiary of his king, also studied at St. Barbe; his name was Simon Rodriguez de Azevedo, of Voucella in the diocese of Vizeu.

All of these new disciples, with the exception of Bobadilla,

were his table companions at St. Barbe, and because of this were in very frequent contact with him. It was not a difficult matter for him therefore to make an estimate of their character; but he pursued his purposes very quietly, recruiting his disciples slowly and deliberately, always exercising the greatest prudence and circumspection. Sometimes he waited a whole year before making the final move; and not until the new recruit had yielded himself to him without reservation would he let him know that others of his fellow students had already solemnly dedicated themselves in the same manner to the service of God. And he always saved to the very last the "means" which he had to thank for his greatest success as a soul-leader. Not until he was absolutely certain of his recruit would he permit his new disciple to take the soul-cure; for only under such circumstances would this cure work out as he wished it to, and only then, through it, would he become entirely, unreservedly, his own for all time. Inigo had written the principles of this cure quite a while before this in a little volume known as the *Spiritual Exercises.*

### The Soul-cure and "The Spiritual Exercises"

What was the secret of this soul-cure which has been mentioned so frequently? What was the goal and purpose of the *Spiritual Exercises,* which still to-day is accepted as the most fundamental book of the Jesuit Order, and according to the precepts of which so many Catholics have "exercised," that one may truthfully call it the most widely disseminated and richly influential rule of practice ("drill book") in the world's history? The first sentence of the book furnishes the answer. This promises whoever obeys its directions to bring him in the course of about four weeks to the place where he will be rid of all evil and disorderly passions and inclinations, and where he will be ready to begin a new life comformable

to the will of God for the salvation of his soul. The means by which this end is to be attained are the old self-disciplinary means employed by the monks: searchings of conscience, prayer, meditation and contemplation; and the matters which are to be the subjects of the meditation and contemplation are the personal life of the individual and the life of Christ.

### Loyola's Method

These things, of course, are nothing new; but Loyola had applied the old means and materials in an entirely new way. He does not, as do the mystics, desire to lead to a mystical enjoyment of the Divine (God); but to accomplish, immediately and absolutely, a new birth or conversion, in that he compels the individual to break utterly with his old self, and by reason of a complete mastery over himself to seize upon a new life. According to his idea the individual can only be brought to this when he understands his old self through and through. Therefore he places an entirely new character and value upon the searching of the individual's conscience, a self-analysis which the Netherland mystics in particular had recommended. This is to be practiced throughout an entire week, from early morning until evening, in such a way that the practitioner will relive his whole life vividly and in great detail, with all its false steps, even the most hidden, and come to a complete realization of the enormity of his sins and their terrifying consequences.

### Training the Imagination

This end cannot be attained unless the practitioner is able to picture to himself all whereon he is thinking. Since few are able to accomplish this sort of thing without further help, Inigo then guides the practitioner in a formal method of training his imagination in order that he will be able to pro-

duce definite picturizations without the aid of external objects on which to fasten his attention.

First he must always visualize a definite locality; then immediately people this scene with the needed characters; and then dramatically relive the incident, in which he imagines the people acting and speaking; and, with every one of his five senses alert, endeavor to realize the event, while he is thus perceiving it with the "inner eyes," as though he were actually experiencing it again. Thus, in the first week, for example, he is to picture the terror of hell so realistically as actually to smell, taste, feel, hear, and see it. But the imagination, like a spirited horse, has the tendency to run away at every opportunity; therefore the practitioner is not to linger any great length of time over the amplification of any particular picturization. For amplification is not an end in itself; it is only intended to fix the imagination firmly on a definite picture, in order that through this visualization a very realistic effect may be made on the will. In harmony with this principle, Loyola attempts, in the prayers which precede every exercise, to awaken specific responses on the part of the practioner. He permits him to repeat this exercise a number of times in order to attain the desired result more effectively.

### The Uniqueness of the Soul-cure

The uniqueness of Loyola's soul-cure, in the last analysis, consists in the stretching or fostering of the imagination, in which exercise he encourages the practitioner most urgently. He starts with the correct observation that one only succeeds in drawing an individual away from his old conceptions and habits and wins him permanently to a new ideal when one understands how to take possession of his imagination. "Visions" were thus conjured up "for him which he could

drive away only with difficulty,"—visions which remained longer with him than all the general principles and good instructions one could give him; for good teachings are soon forgotten, but such fabrications of the imagination stick tenaciously in the soul. Ever and anon they rise from the depths of the unconscious, and then they fight against the will so overpoweringly that instantly they overcome all mental opposition; thus they force and follow their irresistible impulse.

### The Will and the Impulse

Loyola also knew that the will yields to this impulse without hesitation, but only when these conceptions have arisen unconsciously, automatically. Whenever they are forced into the consciousness from without the imagination must also be compelled to receive and imitate them, so to speak, after its own fashion. Therefore Loyola requires that the practitioner learn to visualize definite representations and events without the aid of any objects on which he may concentrate his attention. Since, judging from his own experience, very few are able to do this, he adopted the methods and directions of Ludolf of Saxony which he had found in the introduction of Ludolf's *Life of Christ,* and uses these in his endeavors to direct the imagination in the manner described above.

### Instruction in Catholic Dogma

During this cure, which lasts a month and by which he seeks to bring the individual to where he is free of his old self and all of his rebellious desires and inclinations and ready to begin a new life in conformity with reason and God's will, Loyola instructs him in the whole of sacred history as Catholic dogma presents it. This he does in such a thoroughgoing and fundamental way that never again will

the novice be free of these influences, and it becomes the most natural thing for him to believe as true any and every thing which the "orthodox Church" teaches. Loyola does not hesitate in his "Rules concerning agreement with the hierarchical Church," which he added somewhat later to his *Exercises*, to demand of all who use his little book to declare white black if the Church demands it. Accordingly the *Exercises* are actually the foundation book of Jesuitism. It gives information concerning the objects which the Jesuits strove after as spiritual advisers, educators, preachers, missionaries, and politicians; as well as the principal means by which they attempted to accomplish these ends.

### The Success of "The Exercises"

However this does not account for the success and influence which this book has had and continues to have to this day. Its success is due to the problem which Loyola tries to solve in it. This problem, How can the individual attain inner peace, that is, emancipation from the burden of the sense of guilt, and inner freedom, that is, complete mastery over self?—this problem is one of that group in which all men are interested and about which they have a certain amount of understanding. The foremost question in this group, the one with which most are concerned, is, How can the individual attain inner freedom and the control of his conduct? There are, however, very few who ever experience the inner burden of the sense of guilt, and far fewer who feel it to the depths which Luther did. Loyola therefore, as a soul-leader, could count on a much broader sense of understanding than Luther could; and this brought Loyola into contact with those circles with which Luther was least sympathetic, the representatives of the new classical culture, the humanists.

For a long time these people had concerned themselves with this question simply because they found themselves directed to it constantly in Cicero and Seneca. But in their consideration of this they never progressed farther than the old philosophers. They, like the old philosophers, considered the teaching of ethics the sole means of training, education. They did not perceive that this produced at best only a certain disposition toward moral action, but never worked as strongly or as enduringly as its opposite, the teaching of the immoral. Loyola does not follow this lead, a teaching of mere morals, in the *Exercises*. He strives to exert a direct influence upon the will, and he goes about this so skillfully that within four weeks he usually accomplishes all that the famous Erasmus merely pictured to his readers, in fine words without number, in his *Handbook of a Christian Soldier* and other writings. Because of this success, Loyola's method made the greatest impression on the humanist groups everywhere. He was praised enthusiastically by these very people even in the sixteenth century, and called by them the master of the emotions.

### Loyola and the Great Humanists

This impression was emphasized to a marked degree by the position which Loyola took toward certain other disturbing questions of the times. Loyola did not detest and fear anyone quite as much as the two great humanist writers, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Juan Luis Vives. It was their inclination to treat merely the mooted questions of life and not their humanism which drove Loyola away from them. In as far as humanism strove to effect a reform in formal methods of education and in education itself he found no fault, but frankly admitted that it was justified.

### His Concept of Religion

Loyola demanded rigorously the most exact and implicit observance of all ecclesiastical statutes governing external rites and observances; but he considered a formal and external churchiness valuable only as a necessary accompaniment of religion. Religion itself was something inward, spiritual, perfect serenity and surrender to God, as Thomas à Kempis taught in the *Imitation of Christ*. He satisfied the intense longing of the times for an inner, personal religion; and he satisfied it in a way that appealed to the cultured in particular. The religious views and methods of the later Netherland mystics, which influenced Loyola's teachings, were known to the pious all over Europe at that time; and as Erasmus, the sometime student of the Brothers of the Common Life, also represented these, in part at least, the humanists were not unsympathetic to Loyola's teachings..

The success of Loyola's life work, accordingly, appears neither as a miracle nor an accident. He did not exact of his followers, as did Luther, an absolute break with long established views, beliefs, and customs; but offered them something entirely new: a soul-cure, by which, it appeared to be positively certain, those things could be attained which the classical moralists merely taught as ideal; and added to this cure a very strict churchly piety, wholly inward in direction and readily intelligible in its basic principles. Wherever the Catholic faith had not been entirely extinguished the Jesuits therefore in later days could count on a large measure of sympathy, especially in the cultured circles, and also on strong support for their labors among the masses. The effect and success of the *Exercises,* which endure to this day, can therefore be readily understood.

The *Exercises* are the Catholic counterpart of the revival preaching of the Methodists and the Salvation Army. They

are a thoroughgoing method of conversion based on definite psychological principles, only much finer, better thought out and grounded, and for this reason much less effective with the uneducated than those methods which are purposely planned for the type of people who, if there is any chance of their being converted at all, "yield themselves in less than half an hour." The *Exercises* therefore have become an established institution in the Catholic Church, and of late years have also been introduced into the entire Anglo-Saxon world by the Anglo-Catholic party. Thus Loyola still works through them to-day, quietly, powerfully; and year after year wins new souls to the ideals which he served with the consecration of all his powers: For God and the Hierarchy!

# II

# THE ORIGIN OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS

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# THE ORIGIN OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS

### Montmartre

On the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 15, 1534, Loyola gathered his followers for the first time for a special service in the Chapel of Our Lady on Montmartre (Notre Dame de Montmartre) which in those days rested quietly and alone outside of the walls of Paris. After all of them had made their confession, Lefèvre, who shortly before had read his first Mass as a newly ordained priest, celebrated Mass. At the communion they all received the sacrament—(this was their custom every Sunday and Festival)—and, kneeling, each in turn in a loud voice took a vow which ran something like this: "On the completion of my studies, on a day still to be named, I will give all my possessions to help the poor, with the exception of a sum sufficient to cover the necessary expenses of my pilgrimage. I will then go to Rome in order to seek permission from the Pope to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I will settle in Jerusalem in order to serve God for my own sake as well as for the sake of my fellow men, be they believers or unbelievers. Should it be impossible for me to reach Jerusalem within the course of a year, or for me to remain there, I will then offer my services to the Pope; and perform whatever he commands me wherever he may send me."

### A Students' Association

What did this celebration mean? It was not the founding of a new order; only the origin of a students' association

whose members promised to renounce the world some day and to serve God as "helpers of souls," if at all possible, at Jerusalem. Students were its founders; it was intended for students only; and it sought to gain its members only from among students. What was to become of the members, or what they were to become when once they would be in a position to fulfill their vows,—whether they would remain together permanently, or separate for ever,—these questions were not thought of by the Inigists at that time; nor did they consider them seriously in the next few years.

For the time being their intention was wholly centered on their common preparation for their calling as soul-helpers and not on future common labors. Their studies, their religious practices and meetings in the College of St. Barbe were to serve this end; but the original purpose of this young association was changed completely by these studies, religious practices and meetings in the course of the next five years. The vow however, which obligated each one of these seven equally, and the beliefs and ideals which they all held in common, established such an enduring bond among them that to all intents and purposes they already formed an indissoluble association which withstood the severest tests successfully.

### An Enforced Separation

Loyola was compelled to leave his friends in the spring of 1535 to seek recuperation at his old home after a severe attack of renal colic. They were separated almost two years, and during the course of the second year scarcely heard any longer from him. Nevertheless they all remained faithful to their vow; and what is even more exemplary, won three more students to their ideals and purposes; and arrived at Venice at the end of 1536 in advance of the prearranged time of meeting, in order to undertake the journey to Palestine in

company with Loyola. Thus the little company gave quite evident proof of its vitality. But had these two years passed without leaving any other traces or effects?

### Loyola at Azpeitia

There has been no apparent change in the ideals and ambitions of the Parisian companions who had continued to live their old life simply and quietly; but Loyola had undergone some changes in the meantime. At first, he had labored industriously at Azpeitia as a popular catechist and preacher; abolished a number of long standing abuses; and had proposed and established a new ordinance for the care of the poor and beggars. Late in the autumn of 1535 he went to Bologna to continue his studies; but before the end of the year journeyed to Venice, where he hoped to find better opportunities for the accomplishment of this purpose.

### At Venice—The Theatines

In the City of the Lagoons the study of ecclesiastical conditions engaged his attention to a far greater degree than the study of theology. He became acquainted with all of the groups and organizations which even then were striving to combat the decline of ecclesiastical discipline and custom. The most prominent of these were the Theatines, an order of priests founded some years before to fight the Lutheran heresy. These men were very active in Venice both as preachers and ministrants in the hospital for incurables. As Loyola studied this new order's constitution and methods more closely he found fault with quite a number of things; and he did not hesitate to speak of this openly and frankly, proposing certain minor reforms to the superior of the Venetian Chapter, Giovanni Pietro Carrafa. The immediate result of this was that Carrafa become an enemy to Loyola and his

disciples. Notwithstanding this, this contact proved to be a very important one in its effect upon the development of Loyola's plans for the future. After all he had seen and experienced at Azpeitia and Venice, he could no longer doubt that there was a superabundance of work in Europe also for just such people as the Inigists. He had also reached the conclusion how far the methods of the Theatines should be followed in such labors. But had he been persuaded to give up his plan of going to Jerusalem by this prospect? An affirmative conclusion might readily be drawn when one reads that on the arrival of the Parisian companions at Venice Loyola immediately assigned them to two hospitals to minister to the sick and to souls; but the fact that later he sent them to Rome also shows that such thoughts were still far away. For why did he send them to Rome? To seek permission to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

### The Activities of the Associates

It was not Loyola's object to foster in them joy in a new kind of Christian service through the ministry in the hospitals, which they resumed immediately on their return from Rome, but only to exercise them in self-renunciation and humility. His further course of action accorded with this thoroughly when it became apparent that no pilgrim ship would sail for Palestine in the course of the year 1537 because of the threatening war with Turkey. In July then he assigned his associates to certain places on the Venetian mainland. It was not his intention to accustom them to labor independently but to give them opportunity to prepare themselves, in all quietness, for their ordination. And when, in September, he commissioned his three companions, who were living with him as hermits in a forsaken house near Vicenzia,

to go to the neighboring city and begin street-preaching, he was not showing them a different way whereby, in the future, they should "aid souls," but only aiding their own souls with a new sort of discipline. For, through these street-preaching experiences, as he had previsioned and also hoped, they harvested nothing but derision and insults at first because they were not very proficient in the use of the Italian language.

It is quite evident, therefore, that he clung steadfastly to the original plan; and what is more, he proposed to the travelers, when they joined him at Venice in September, that they use the fall and winter months in an effort to gain new recruits among the students at the Italian universities who also would undertake the pilgrimage to Jerusalem with them. He and Lefèvre and Lainez would go to Rome for this purpose; the others should go to Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, and Sienna; and toward Easter join him at Rome. They planned to begin their pilgrimage together from Rome. This idea of the pilgrimage therefore continued to govern all of the undertakings of the Inigists.

However, the hopes with which they left Venice sometime after the middle of October proved illusory. They did not come into contact with the students anywhere, partly because there were scarcely any students at the schools. Their successes as street-preachers, catechists, and spiritual advisers, notwithstanding their defective Italian, were markedly great among the uneducated, and also among the educated, lay and cleric, but to a less degree. Indeed many of these cultured laymen became very devotedly and closely attached to them. Among these were Duke Ercole in Ferrara and the well known Dona Vittoria Colonna, the chiefs of the ecclesiastical authorities in Bologna, Sienna and Padua, the King's ambassador, Dr. Ortiz, and the influential cardinal, Gasparo Contarini, in Rome.

### First Missionary Efforts at Rome

As they talked things over when once more they all had gathered at Rome toward Easter, 1538, they felt that they had found in this experience in a strange land work which seemed very promising; and it seemed to hold a special appeal to them simply because they had not gone out to seek it intentionally. The outbreak of the long-expected war between the Sultan Suleiman and the Republic of Venice, the threat of which had disrupted their plans for the pilgrimage, therefore did not have any especially depressing effect upon them. They realized now that they could accomplish something also in Europe if it would suit the Pope to use them in his service as "soul-helpers."

However, the Pope was absent from Rome at this time, and no one was able to tell them when he would return. Once more they were compelled to plan some temporary activity as they were not content to sit idly by in the meanwhile.

### Their Attack Against the Lutherans

They sought the permission of the papal vicar-general to preach, hear confessions, and minister the sacraments in the parishes of Rome and its environs without necessarily being compelled to obtain the sanction of the incumbent parish priests. It seems as though they undertook this with the deliberate intention of gaining a permanent foothold in Rome; but this did not satisfy them altogether. In order to demonstrate of what spirit they were the children, they began their preaching activities on the fifth of May in a number of pulpits simultaneously with an attack against the "Lutheranists" of the Eternal City and their much revered leader, the Augustinian Eremite, Agostino Mainardo. Don Agostino had many powerful patrons; among them three very influential and wealthy Spanish curialists. These men pro-

duced an apostate disciple of Loyola, who forthwith charged publicly that the Inigists were fugitive Lutherans; that one and all they had been condemned on account of this heresy in Spain, Paris, and Venice. To substantiate this, it appeared, he could produce the necessary proof.

It is true that Loyola had been forced to clear himself of the suspicion of being a secret Lutheran at Paris in April, 1535, and again at Venice in the Spring of 1537. Fortunately Loyola still had in his possession a letter of this same accuser, and with this Loyola clearly showed that his apostate follower had turned against him only out of vindictiveness. Thereupon this base fellow was banished from Rome for all time, without any further formalities, as a conscienceless slanderer.

### The Inigists Suspected of Heresy. They Appeal to the Pope

Suspicion that the Inigists were heretics was not removed by this. It rose against them more strongly than ever, everywhere in Rome. No one wanted to listen to their preaching any longer. People would not send their children to their Christian instruction. No one would come to them for confession. All their attempts to establish themselves in Rome as "soul-helpers" appeared to have been in vain unless their innocence could be established formally and publicly by a judicial investigation. But the governor of Rome refused to listen to any proposals looking toward this end. Then Loyola determined to appeal to the Pope through the mediation of Cardinal Contarini. On the seventeenth or eighteenth of August, at Frascati, in an audience which lasted an hour, Loyola laid his desires before the Pope, and told him how it happened that he had so often aroused the suspicion of heresy. This hour decided the destiny of Loyola's institution.

### The Pope's Favor

Pope Paul III not only ordered that the desired investigation be made immediately;—it ended, as was expected, on November 18 with a brilliant acquittal;—but ever thereafter was favorable to the Inigists. The blow which was intended to destroy them eventuated in the opening of the way to a rise without parallel.

Before the investigation had been entirely completed they received two very flattering invitations to engage in their labors abroad. The King's ambassador proposed that they go to Mexico and East India as missionaries. The Pope, however, whom they in the meantime had promised solemnly to serve in whatever way he would require, would not consider any such suggestions, as there was an abundance of work for them at Rome. Into what particular directions he considered turning their activities may be judged from the fact that he had them conduct discussions every fortnight in his apartments, and employed Lefèvre and Lainez as teachers at the University of Rome. In the meantime they were anxious to gain practical experience in work among the people, and since the Pope of his own accord did not order them to engage in such labors, they did not hesitate to attempt to direct the intention of His Holiness in that direction. On December 19 a papal decree was issued, ordering all the schoolmasters of the Eternal City to train their children regularly in the Christian instruction of the Inigists. With this order they had attained what they desired. They had been commanded to engage in activities of spiritual helpfulness: activities which made it possible for them to reach every stratum of the Roman population.

### The Founding of the Company of Jesus

The repute of the ten Parisian masters who were so zealous for the faith had become widely known outside of Rome.

At the beginning of 1539 the spiritual authorities of Sienna petitioned the Pope to send them two of the ten for the purpose of reforming a cloister. This proposition forced the Inigists to face the question seriously, in March, 1539, whether they should separate, a few at a time, or unite in a confraternity "which would outlast them all." They decided at once, that first night, unanimously, to remain united, and to "organize a new *compagnia* (company) which will not end with us." It is probable also that they agreed at that time to name this new company after the Name of Jesus. Thus the *Company of Jesus* was founded.

### Papal Approval

When they began to consider the main features of the organization and the purposes of the Company, it was evident that, notwithstanding the unanimity of their convictions, there were many opinions among them concerning the sort of work they should do and the manner in which it should be organized. It was not until June 24, 1539, that a draft of the regulations was committed to paper. This was the *Formula Instituti.* Their great patron, Cardinal Contarini, received this document in order to present it to the Pope. On the third of September, at Tivoli, the Pope declared himself thoroughly satisfied with it, and ordered the head of the secretariat of the *brevi pontifici,* Cardinal Ghinucci, to issue the necessary documents. But the cardinal very unexpectedly took many exceptions to the *Formula.* In order to bring the matter to a successful issue, the Pope at the beginning of December commissioned Cardinal Guiddiccioni, in whom he placed every confidence, to give his opinion concerning the document. But this one raised even greater objections! The way in which Loyola now began to work is wholly characteristic of him. Since he knew that Guid-

diccioni had been vicar-general at Parma for a long period, where too Lainez and Lefèvre had been very successfully engaged in spiritual ministrations since the spring of 1539, he had these two induce the Council at Parma at the end of January, 1540, to intercede very strongly with the Cardinal on behalf of the "reformed priests." When this proved of no avail, he induced, with the Council's help, in March, the most influential woman at Rome, Dona Constanza Farnese, the illegitimate daughter of His Holiness, and, through Broet and Rodriguez, induced the Archbishop of Sienna also to use their good offices in their behalf. In short he neglected nothing; and since the straight way was not open to him, he used all manner of indirect ways in his efforts to overcome the Cardinal's opposition. A few more months passed before the desired goal was reached. It was not until the twenty-seventh of September, 1540, that the Pope sanctioned the new Order in the bull, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae;* but this limitation was placed upon the Order, it was not to number more than sixty full members. Guiddiccioni had forced this single limitation; but on the twenty-fourth of March, 1543, it was removed by the bull, *Injunctum nobis.*

### Loyola Elected the First General

The only matter now which remained to be attended to was to provide a head for the Order. It was characteristic of the Inigists that they let this matter go for more than half a year. On April 4, 1541, the fathers who were present in Rome met in council as provided by the *Formula* to elect a head; this was the first General Congregation of the Company of Jesus. Only six were present: Loyola, Lainez, Salmeron, Jay, Broet, and Codure. Bobadilla could not leave his work in Calabria. Lefèvre had been in Germany since October, 1540. Xavier and Rodriguez had gone to Lisbon

in March, 1540, for the purpose of going to India as missionaries. It is quite self-evident that they voted unanimously for Loyola. But Loyola steadfastly declined to accept the election: not because of any false sense of humility, but because he thought, in all earnestness, that he did not measure up to the office of the *praepositus*, either physically or spiritually.

Only after they had met and balloted a second time, with the same result, would he agree to leave the decision of the matter to his father confessor. On the twentieth of April, the latter, without listening to Loyola's objections, told him it was his duty to accept. Following this, on the twenty-second, the five associates made their vows of obedience to him in the Chapel of Our Lady in the Church of St. Paul-without-the-walls. Thus, almost twenty years after the days at Pamplona, he arrived at what was destined for him. But was the Company of Jesus a completed organization now?

## The "Formula Instituti" and Loyola's Reform Program

If the *Formula Instituti* of June 24, 1539, which, with a few minor changes, had found acceptance in the Pope's enabling bull, be examined, the answer to the foregoing question dare hardly be an affirmative one. According to these regulations the Company of Jesus was intended to be an order of priests who would serve in Inner[1] and Foreign Missions; but Inner Missions occupies the foremost place. The objective to which all decisions governing the work and organization of the new Order point is conversion of the unchurched masses. For this reason the Jesuits' most im-

[1] The term, Inner Missions, is used by Boehmer in the specific sense of the Lutheran Church, in contrast with "Home Missions" and the so-called "Social Service."

portant task was to gain a hold on the growing generation by instructing them methodically everywhere in Christian doctrine; for example, according to the methods pursued at Rome, where all school children were instructed in the catechism regularly. This is particularly important in connection with the children of the common people. The "Catechism" upon which Loyola based his own instructions in his sermons to children was wholly within the reach of their understanding. It, like the catechisms of the Middle Ages, was a direction and training for confession by means of instructions in the Ten Commandments, the Five Commandments of the Church, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven "Spiritual Works," etc. The Creed was only taught symbolically. "First, make the sign of the cross on the forehead: this signifies God the Father, who does not proceed from anyone. Then make it over the body: this signifies God the Son, who proceded from the Father, and came forth from the womb of the Virgin. Then draw the hand from one side to the other: this signifies God the Holy Ghost, who proceeds from the Father and the Son. Finally place both hands together: this signifies, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one God."

These catechetical instructions are the models which the Jesuit was to keep in mind when preaching and teaching. Dogmatic controversies had no place in the pulpit. Exhortations to practice the virtues, warnings against the vices, these were the proper subject matter for preaching; simplicity and popularity the right form and method. And not the least important requisite to this popular preaching was "a fervent spirit and a flashing eye," for these would always make a greater impression on the masses than "well chosen words and polished speech."

The purpose of all preaching was always to be to stimu-

late the hearers to go to confession and to accustom them to make their confessions and communions as frequent as possible. If the Jesuit has been successful in awakening them from their spiritual lethargy and getting them to go to confession once more, then, in the confessional, the Jesuit must avoid everything which might move them to repent of their determination to be repentant. He is never to dismiss anyone without giving him some comfort; never to forget to adapt his counsels with the greatest foresight to the position and personal relationship of the penitent. Now and then he will be able to add to and deepen the effect which preaching and the ministry in the confessional have in view, by prescribing the *Spiritual Exercises*, especially the exercises of the first week. However, the *Exercises* presuppose a certain measure of spiritual culture; for this reason they are not intended for the use of everyone. On the other hand the widest circles and most diverse conditions can be influenced by works of mercy and acts of love toward one's neighbor. Therefore the Jesuit is always to be especially active in performing such works.

This is Loyola's program for the reformation of the Church. It is to be observed that at the very outset he recognizes very keenly and clearly the primary and all-important task which must be accomplished, reaccustoming the masses to ecclesiastical discipline and custom; and that at the same time he provides the means whereby this result may be attained most quickly, training the growing generation by the Church. In this he agreed with the regulations which Cardinal Ximines had established in his jurisdiction at Toledo; but he was the first to attempt to carry out these ideas seriously in Italy. Further, it was something entirely new in the experience of the Italians to have the Jesuits preach throughout the entire year and not confine their pul-

pit activities to Advent and Lent only; and, when in the pulpit, to have them avoid the learned and rhetorical manners of the scholastics and humanists as rigorously as they did the buffoonery and story-telling of the mendicant monks; and to hear them preach only of the virtues and vices in a most popular style. It was also a new practice to have them urge most frequent confessions and communions, and, in the confessional, show themselves both experienced and considerately moderate and indulgent. New also was the zeal with which the "reformed priests" organized all manner of works of mercy, and wherever they found the opportunity founded new religious associations of lay persons.

### Loyola at Rome. Reform Movements Instituted

These innovations made the greatest impression at Rome, where Loyola himself prosecuted the work of reformation. The energy and directness with which he attacked the great social evils existing in the Eternal City—begging, prostitution, and neglect of orphans—created a sensation. In order to combat mendicancy, he organized in 1542 an association of his own, which received the Pope's approval. The objects of this organization were to gather all beggars; to compel proper care of the sick in the hospitals; to compel those able to work to do so; and to banish foreign tramps. The idea was an excellent one, but its execution miscarried. Notwithstanding Loyola's efforts, Rome's repute as a city overrun with beggars remained notorious. In 1860, out of a population of 220,000, 60,000 were registered as mendicants!

Loyola's efforts in behalf of the neglected orphans met with better success; he founded two orphanages for their care during these years.

But the greatest of all evils in Rome was prostitution. As a summary ending of this terrible evil could not be expected, he was content, at first, with the abolition of its worst outgrowths: the custom on the part of married women wearing maiden's attire, and the training of young girls for this "trade" by their parents. To further this work he established a Martha-house in 1544 for married prostitutes who were repentant, and in 1546 he organized a society for the protection and careful training of girls whose morals were endangered. Through these reform activities he won within a very short time a reputation and position in Rome such as scarcely ever before had been attained by the head of an order. All who hoped for a betterment of conditions in the Church looked to him; turned to him with their desires and plans; and willingly furnished whatever means were required for the accomplishments of the undertakings he thought necessary.

### The Jesuits' Varied Activities

Rome was still the capital and forum of the Catholic world; therefore the Italian prelates who wanted to do something toward the revival of church life—now an ever increasing number—either engaged Jesuits from the Curia or directly from Loyola, and entrusted to these men very difficult tasks, as, for example, the reform of convents, which almost universally had fallen to such a low state that Contarini curtly called them "houses of joy and feasting." Through this wide variety of activities during the year 1541 to 1546 the Jesuits became prominent as a society of priests for church reform, organizers of Christian instruction, founders of a new method of preaching and of new methods of practice in the confessional, restorers of the true nature of

ecclesiastical organizations and of the Church's works of mercy.

### Xavier, Their First Foreign Missionary. Work Among the Jews

However, Inner Missions was not their sole field of activity at that period. On the seventh of April, 1541, Francis Xavier with two companions sailed from Lisbon in order to carry Christianity to the Portuguese colonies in the Far East. Shortly thereafter the Company's missionary activity among the Jews had its beginning in Italy. As early as 1543 Loyola opened a house in Rome for Jewish converts, and every once in a while thereafter celebrated the baptism of Jews at some prominent place in the Eternal City with great pomp and ceremony for the purpose of interesting fashionable circles in this pious work.

### The Young Order Widely Engaged

If there is anything that is especially characteristic of the young Order at this time it is the way in which its fighting strength was scattered so widely and the extraordinary diversity of its activities.

When Loyola moved into the newly acquired house near Santa Maria de Strada in September, 1544,—on the site of which the magnificent building of The Gesu stands to-day—the number of those who desired to join the Order was quite considerable; but at that time there were not quite twenty members. It was only this small, very limited group of thoroughly trained workers which was available to be sent any and everywhere. These few men were scattered over the whole world. Xavier worked in India; Jay labored in Salzburg; Bobadilla in Vienna; Lefèvre, Rodriguez and Araoz, Loyola's nephew, in Portugal; Lainez in Padua, Broet in Reggio di Emilia; Loyola, Salmeron, and Dominick in Rome.

### Loyola's Methods

How was Loyola able to accomplish such an immense amount of work with so few men? In the first place, this little band formed a body of picked troops, chosen man for man; inspired man for man with the burning desire to be worthy of their master's favorite saying: "To be all things to all men in order to win all" (I Cor. 9:22). Then Loyola moved his few men about incessantly, now here, now there, so that with the exception of himself they seemed to be constantly on the go. Finally, as a matter of principle, he avoided obligating himself to any permanent service at a particular place or to any definite form of activity. His one desire was to awaken, evangelize, organize, assist, *everywhere;* but never bind himself to any one thing or place permanently. He even retired from the direction of the new institutions which he had founded as soon as he was completely assured of their continuance.

### New Activities—Education

Did he maintain this attitude in the years which followed? The answer will be derived from a survey of the activities of the Company of Jesus at the time of Loyola's death, July 31, 1556. The Order numbered then in the neighborhood of a thousand members divided into thirteen provinces; but of that number only forty-two were "professed"[2]. Its activities continued to be very widespread in all manner of spiritual works in the service of the Church. In addition its activity in the field of missions had become greatly enlarged. But one activity which the Order could carry out only at a definite place in a permanent form made a greater claim on their attention. This was the field of education. At the time of Loyola's death fifteen Jesuit schools existed in Italy, five

[2] That is, full-fledged members of the Order.

each in Spain and Sicily, three each in Portugal and Germany, one in France, with a grand total of almost fifty-seven hundred scholars. Eight of these schools were connected with universities; at others instruction was given in branches of learning which at that time, as a rule, could only be had at the universities. Through this activity the Order had become preponderatingly a teaching order, and its General had become the authoritative center of the organization of the educational system in Catholic Europe.

### Fighting Heresy—the German College

In addition to this activity in the field of public education the Order engaged in another, one somewhat in the nature of a special work. This was the fight against heresy. Wherever the Protestants gave concern to the ecclesiastical or civil authorities the Jesuits were straightway imported. Their first activity in this direction was in Germany; but the headquarters from which the campaign which they waged against heresy in Germany was directed was not, as might be supposed, in Vienna, but in Rome. Here since 1522 Loyola had been educating young Germans in the *Collegium Germanicum*. These young men were later on to be the officers in the campaign and carry the war to every place and station. Here too, almost twenty years after the hour of dedication on Montmartre, August 13, 1554, he developed the famous plan of campaign for the destruction of heresy, which his disciples later on, in league with the Catholic princes of Germany, attempted to carry out. As was the case in the organization of public instruction, so now in the work against heresy, the General of the Jesuits was the authoritative center and director.

The subject of public education was not mentioned in the *Formula* of 1539, the fight against the Lutherans was men-

tioned, but in very few words, and only as a future possibility, but in no way as the primary and most pressing task of the new Order. The question therefore arises: How did the Order come to specialize in this field of work which became one of their most outstanding and characteristic activities in the following centuries?

Loyola was accused of heresy before the Inquisition, during his lifetime, no less than ten times. In Spain he was charged with being an Alumbrado; in Paris, Venice and Rome he was charged with being a secret Lutheran! If the much abused expression "the irony of history" is apropos anywhere this seems to be the place! The irony of history! For if there was one thing which served to characterize Loyola and his disciples more than anything else, it was their determined enmity against Lutheranism. They had repeatedly and publicly given proof of this enmity already when they were in Paris; and in Rome they began their activities with a sensational attack on the "Lutheranists" on the fifth of May, 1538; and after the storm which had arisen against them as a result of this attack had abated, they stood in such "good report" with the Curia that after the summer of 1540 the Pope and the Cardinals used them constantly as heresy-hunters and heresy-fighters. They performed all such commissions with devoted enthusiasm, even going to such lengths, after 1543, as joining the company of the heretics on their own responsibility, notwithstanding the danger which this involved. They also devised new methods to be used in their warfare against heresy.

Loyola's advice was materially helpful in causing Pope Paul III to establish a new central council, the Holy Office, in July, 1542, for the persecution of heretics, and to organize this on a large scale: thus at last breaking with the procrastinating policy which the Curia had been pursuing in this con-

nection. Loyola was also responsible for the idea of founding a training school in Rome for secular priests whose duty it was to be to revive the churchly life in Germany in opposition to Lutheranism. His also was the plan which mobilized all means of coercion and persuasion which were within the powers of the civil authorities and made them effective in the fight against heresy in Germany (August 13, 1554). As certain as it is that the Company of Jesus was not originally founded for the express purpose of fighting Protestantism, just that certain it is also that the inclination and readiness to do that very thing existed from the start, and that Loyola was not forced to undertake this task through external conditions but grasped it with joyful resolution as quickly as he recognized the opportunity.

### How the Order Entered the Sphere of Education

The development of the Order's activity in educational spheres arose in another way. It was not Loyola's original intention to interest himself in this at all. At first he made provision for the education of the younger members of the Order in this way: At Paris, and later at Padua, Coimbra, Alcala, and Valencia, he united such deserving young men in special students' halls or homes; from these they attended lectures and recitations at the nearest university. He never thought that his very much occupied followers should be engaged regularly in teaching at institutions; further that was altogether against his principle, which was not to obligate himself or the Order at any time or anywhere to an activity of a permanent character restricted to a definite place. However, the learning and quick-wittedness of his disciples created such a fine impression everywhere that the Jesuits were soon called upon to assist in providing competent teachers and good schools, which were needed so badly all over Italy.

In 1538 Lefèvre and Lainez, later Salmeron also, had given some lectures at the Pope's command at the University of Rome, an institution which had all but gone to ruin. In 1546 the Company's most powerful patron in Spain, Francisco Borgia, Duke of Gandia, placed a Jesuit in charge of the teaching of philosophy at the newly established University of Gandia, and in 1547, by calling Loyola's attention to the great missionary opportunity among the Moriscos which existed at the little university, moved him to provide professors for all of the teaching positions.

Loyola recognized for the first time the great opportunity which lay in such teaching activities and how well it would repay the Order to engage in them, when the City Council of Messina invited him to establish a college for young Jesuits at their proposed city university, provided the Order would agree always to furnish incumbents for four professorships. It was a fortunate thing that Loyola had obtained permission from the Pope that spring (June 5, 1546), to create a new rank or class of workers in the Order. These were to be limited to twenty and were to have similar privileges to the professed; they were the spiritual *coadjutores*. Notwithstanding this Loyola would hardly have accepted the attractive invitation from Messina had he not been convinced that he would be able to advance his missionary plans by this means. With this hope in view he did even more than he had been invited to do: he did not stop with sending four Jesuits to Messina, he sent seven. Through this assistance the new school was opened immediately after Easter, 1548.

### The Company Becomes a Teaching Order

The success which followed was so great that similar invitations were sent to Loyola very soon thereafter from other cities. The opening up of these opportunities moved him to

the decision of transforming the Order immediately into a teaching order. This he proceeded to do with great caution but also with characteristic energy.

On November 18, 1549, he received permission from the Pope to increase the number of the spiritual coadjutors to whatever number he might desire; for this class of workers was to furnish the teaching force which he needed now in ever increasing numbers. At the same time he decided to take personal charge of the education of the young members of the Order, and added a very exact and detailed school-discipline or set of regulations to the draft of the Constitution on which he had been working since 1547. Still more characteristic of his pedagogical ideas and endeavors was his recognition of the necessity of establishing a model school of practice or training school for the young members of the Order and for foreign students in Rome. This he provided in his famous Roman College, the organization of which became the model for all the schools of the Order.

### The Roman College

This College was opened February 18, 1551. Like Calvin's school, established seven years later at Geneva, it was both a classical school and a theological seminary; and, like Calvin's school, its organization was modeled after the colleges of the University of Paris. The system of fixed classes, obligatory examinations for promotion, and the strict limitation of instruction in philosophy and theology to prescribed text books, were derived from this model. By means of this last regulation all Jesuit schools nurtured a strictly churchly disposition of mind and thus became a powerful means of the counter-reformation.

Thus the original character of the Order underwent a complete change. It no longer was a sort of Catholic Salvation

Army, or a society of priests intended to be of assistance in every needed sphere of church activity; it now had become primarily a teaching order and an anti-Protestant fighting order. It no longer turned its attention to the masses, but chiefly to the aristocracy of birth, money, and culture, from whose ranks it now recruited almost exclusively. The original *Formula* of 1539 now appeared to be so antiquated that Loyola felt that a thoroughgoing revision was necessary. He received formal permission to undertake this from Pope Julius III on July 21, 1550, in the bull *Exposcit debitum*. This bull is far less known outside of the circle of the Jesuit Order than the enabling bull of 1540; but historically it is as important, as it marks the end of the long history of the origin and development of the Company of Jesus.

### The Constitutions

Loyola had prepared a detailed draft of regulations or statutes, the Constitutions. He first submitted this to some of the older companions of the Order for examination. In 1552 he sent it to the members of the Order in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and the Indian mission stations; still only with the idea of testing the regulations thoroughly. As far as the general content of these is concerned, he did not make any changes after that; but he never ceased attempting to better their form until within the last few months of his life.

The Constitutions did not become operative officially until 1558, two years after Loyola's death, when they were adopted by the General Congregation of the Order held that year. Since Loyola had received Pope Paul III's confirmation of the regulations necessary to the governing of the Order in October, 1549, and had governed it for a long while by means of a mass of regulations which covered even the

smallest details, the adoption of the Constitutions made as little disturbance in the development of the Order as did Loyola's death.

The Constitutions are no more a masterpiece than the *Exercises;* nevertheless they are an inspired piece of work. It is quite evident that Loyola knew the laws of the older orders thoroughly; but, as was the case with the *Exercises,* acquaintance with tradition did not prevent his creation of something entirely new. He wrote a constitution to meet the specific needs and govern the particular kind of order he was founding, one which would enable the Order to continue to be always just what, according to his ideas, it should be, a body of picked troops always ready for battle in the service of the militant Church.

### Qualifications and Training of Candidates

The winning of such a body of picked men is the uppermost thing in his mind in the first chapters of the Constitutions. These deal with recruiting (chapter 1), dismissal (2), training of the members (3, 4), attainment of the requisite preparedness, shown especially in the regulations concerning organization, (5-10). The most important thing in connection with the recruiting is that practical usefulness and tractableness on the part of those desiring to join the Order are to be the deciding factors in every case. Physical and spiritual health, agreeable external appearance, good understanding, quiet, energetic character, these are qualities on the basis of which they are to be considered and examined beforehand with the greatest care. If the aspirant is found to be able and otherwise qualified he then passes the next two years in a house of probation in order that he may acquire the training of character and mind which is absolutely necessary in the practical service of the Order.

Self-denial and obedience are qualifications more necessary than all others. Religious practices play a great part; but every excess in this which might tend to injure the inclination and ability of the novice to practical usefulness is firmly prohibited.

### Their Education

Only when this period of preparation or probation is passed does the period of education begin. This must be spent in one of the Order's schools, and the greater part of this period, which lasts seven years at least, is given to the study of higher subjects, philosophy and theology. The type of education begun in the house of probation does not end with this. In this process the *Exercises* occupy a place of importance second to nothing else. Every member of the Order must complete these at least twice in their entirety; first when a novice, and again at the conclusion of study. In addition he must use them in a shortened form once every year. Special personal gifts and talents are only given careful nurturing if the Order may expect to profit by their use in the future; but the effort is made to remove all other personal peculiarities through uniform methods of training. Efforts in this direction met with such success that one must marvel at the almost total absence of national jealousies and quarrels in the history of this Order which has been so thoroughly international in its makeup.

### The Ranks in the Company

The organization of the Order rests in part upon this system of education and preparation which is so methodically ordered even to the minutest detail. The lowest class or rank in the Order is composed of the approved scholastics, students. These take the simple oath of poverty, chastity, and

obedience, and by this act surrender their liberty of action. But the Order can dismiss them without ceremony at any time. On the conclusion of their philosophical studies they are usually active for a few years in gaining practical experience as preachers and teachers. They then are known as *scholastici formati.* When they have completed the study of theology and received priest's orders they may be assigned to one of the two higher ranks in the Order, the spiritual coadjutors or professed.

The spiritual coadjutors take the three-fold oath in a very simple ceremony but publicly. These, too, in cases of necessity, may be dismissed from the Order and released from their vows. The teachers in the Order's schools were always chosen from this class, and in the Order's most flourishing periods they too furnished the heads of its institutions, its preachers, and its father confessors. Until the middle of the seventeenth century they carried the burden and the direction of the Order's work, and because of this they were the largest class numerically and also the most important one.

The professed take the three-fold vow very ceremoniously. Thereby they surrender the right to marry, to own or inherit property. In addition to this they take a special vow which obligates them to the immediate and personal service of the Pope. According to the *Formula* of 1539, the professed were intended to be the actual bearers of the Order's work; but after 1547 they fell far behind the coadjutors both in numbers and importance. Since these men were mendicant friars legally, the houses in which the professed lived could not own any property. However, they did not suffer any want on this account, other institutions of the Order provided for their needs. The other institutions, the colleges, and the probation houses had the right to acquire property

of all kinds: colleges could not be established until a sufficient income, legally secure, was on hand.

In addition to these three classes of clerical members there is a fourth which carries the agreeable name *worldly* (secular) coadjutors. These are the lay brothers: the house managers, gardeners, servants, cooks, etc., in the Order's institutions; they perform the necessary, humbler services. They need complete but one year in the probation house and take only the three simple vows.

Naturally the case may arise that the heads of the Order may be in doubt as to whether a novice is fitted for study or only for the humbler services. Such persons, about whose "call" there is uncertainty, are called *indifferentes* in the Constitution. Since decisions relative to these *indifferentes* and the actions of the fourth General Congregation in 1581 governing such situations were not examined and weighed carefully, the suspicion arose quite frequently in later years that the *indifferentes* were *secret* members of the Order, the so-called Jesuits-of-the-short-robe.

## "Secret Jesuits"

Twice during Loyola's lifetime distinguished persons kept their entrance into the Company a secret for a short time so that they could put their affairs into order peacefully. Later on it happened frequently that Jesuits, under hostile conditions, went about in civilian clothing, either in order to serve their fellow believers undisturbed or to make converts. Such things however can scarcely be regarded as proof of the existence of a special class of secret members; nor can it be asserted that the Order's laws expressly provide for and allow the existence of such a class.

The Jesuit Order differs from other orders in the slow

process of advancement from one rank or class to another, and in the effort to distinguish between simple and ceremonious vows,—a distinction customary since the late Middle Ages,—and to apply these disinctions to the various classes in the Order. In this way they made possible the dismissal of persons who were not properly fitted for life in the Order without any difficulty; and this possibility, at least in the earliest days, was much used. Loyola would simply point to the door when imprisonment or some other means of correction would be suggested as punishment for disobedient members; and when Philipp II of Spain asked, "How does it happen that the Order gives the impression of so much youth and vigor?" Borgia, the third General of the Order, replied significantly, "Because it is bled so frequently."

### Centralization of Authority

Just as practical and original as these measures which were intended to give and preserve to the Order the character of a body of picked troops, were the regulations governing its organization through which Loyola sought to make the Order a troop always prepared to strike at the command of the General. The mendicant and knightly orders possessed a centralized organization; but the real head in these cases was not the grand master or the general but the general chapter. The generals of the mendicant orders therefore were nothing more than the highest officials who administered the running affairs between the periodic meetings of the chapter. The grand masters of the knightly orders were elected for life; but they also were answerable to their chapters, and very much restricted in their liberty of action and authority by the officers of the various national branches of the order who were entirely independent of them.

### The Authority of the General

Centralization of authority is carried out very strictly and definitely for the first time in the Jesuit Order; and all power is placed in the hands of the General, who is chosen for life and answerable to the Pope only. The clearest evidence of this thoroughgoing centralization of authority is in this: The General not only names the province chiefs, rectors of colleges, superiors of the houses of the professed and masters of the novices (probation houses), but also the professed themselves and the religious and secular coadjutors; he not only instructs and directs the Order's officers, but also designates the dwelling place of every individual member and decides his occupation. The officers of the Order, therefore, in this organization are actually only officials; and what is more, officials who are not able to act without the express permission of the General.

### The Powers of the General Congregation

The General Congregation alone has the right to elect the General and to provide him with an *admonitor* (counsellor) in the person of his father confessor, and with a number of assistants who act as overseers and counsellors. It also has the right to be heard in connection with a proposed discontinuance of any of the Order's institutions and on any suggested amendment to the Constitutions. And lastly it may put the General on trial and vacate his office; but this is permissible only in case he has fallen into heresy or has been guilty of positively known and proven moral offences. The Congregation may never call him to account for any of his acts of government. It may meet legally only when the General has died or is no longer able to conduct the business of the Order; outside of this it meets only when the General thinks it necessary. It dare not even atempt to

limit the General's freedom of decision or action through his assistants; for the General is not bound by their vote even in cases where he must ask their counsel or opinion. The General, therefore, is an autocrat, but a "constitutional autocrat," for he dare not arbitrarily alter the Constitutions or the decrees of the Congregation. But these are more in the nature of limitations to his actions than norm; for, in the first place, he is authorized, in special cases, to dispense with the observance of their decisions, and, in the second place, he is allowed such a wide latitude of independent action that, as a rule, he is able to reach his decisions wholly according to his own judgment.

### The System of Espionage and Denunciation

Enforcement of this autocratic government is made doubly sure by an all embracing system of secret and official espionage and informing, which covers every branch of the Order's activities and every class of the personnel, even down to the novices. The like of this is vainly sought for anywhere in history! Every Jesuit has someone spying on him, and everyone must surely reckon on the possibility that a subordinate or a superior may make his official or personal acts the subject of a secret accusation. Therefore he dare never let himself go; he dare scarcely be his natural self; he must always guard himself most carefully in order that he does not cause or commit some offence even innocently and unwillingly! An innocent, free, unembarassed relationship therefore could hardly be expected to develop among the members.

Loyola placed no serious emphasis upon this system. He expected and required of his followers, young and old, complete suppression of the emotions and absolute naturalness in their relations with each other. He would not endure

gossip or any inclination to speak evilly of another. He met all such very simply but firmly, refusing to hear any accusation without also hearing the accused, and requiring documentary proof from the accuser wherever possible. As the Spanish padre, Juan Mariana, reveals in his book on the weaknesses of the Company of Jesus at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it is quite certain that such a system would result under some circumstances in developing in the houses of the Order such a spirit of distrust and tale-bearing as to make life therein, especially for impulsive natures like Padre Juan's, a veritable hell. However, such an acute situation could only arise when the normal community life and labor was disrupted by internal contentions, as was the case at that time in Spain. Where this was not the case, the very strict discipline which governed the Order prevented the arising of such troubles.

### Reverence for the Superior—Obedience

The principles underlying this discipline had long been well-known; but the chief emphasis was placed only on what Loyola had borrowed from the older monkish pedagogues. To this belongs, for example, the requirement that the subordinate must look upon his superior as the representative of Christ or God. This had been taught centuries before by Benedict of Nursia. Further, the celebrated doctrine of implicit obedience had been one of the teachings of Francis of Assisi. Finally the view that obedience was the virtue of all virtues in which the Jesuits were to excel is found as early as the old Egyptian patriarchs, Pachomius of Tabennese and Shenute of Atripe, also with Columban (✝615) and other Occidental monks.

The only new thing that Loyola contributes is his attempt to develop the doctrine of obedience psychologically which

he embodied in the well-known letter to the Portuguese, March 26, 1553. In this he distinguishes three steps or stages: obedience of the fact, of the will, of the individual judgment. He asserts that the Jesuit can be conscious of possessing this virtue only when he submits himself "in all things and in everything" to the opinions of his superiors, making them absolutely his own personal opinions, not once, even mentally, making bold to criticise them. He set out deliberately to train his followers to this end, to accept all orders from their superiors without question and as wholly right and final. As a result subordinates were seldom tempted to denounce their superiors without a compelling reason; and when their superiors required them to make a confidential report they exercised the greatest prudence and impartiality, quite the contrary to what might be expected naturally.

But was not the subordinate's ability to act independently utterly destroyed by this training in an unqualified obedience? Such a possibility would have had to be feared had the government of the Order degenerated into a small minded officialdom and been in a position to direct and control, from Rome as a center, all that its members should and should not do, to the smallest detail. But the government of the Order, due to the rather restricted methods of communication of that period and even though it had developed very proficient forms of making reports, had to be content with issuing entirely general instructions, even in connection with the most vital and responsible of its enterprises.

The method of training enforced by Loyola had this outstanding effect. It accustomed the individual to concentrate all of his attention on the matter with which he had been commissioned and to carry it out adequately and expeditiously. As long as the Order's administration understood

the real genius of commanding it did not decrease, but on the contrary increased, the sense of personal responsibility, and, at the same time, the ability to act promptly, tirelessly, and independently, and the readiness to make every sacrifice which the entrusted commission demanded without any consideration of personal safety and comfort. Numberless instances bear witness to this.

### The "Militia Christi"

The religious concept with which Loyola always starts is the very ancient one which, since the time of St. Benedict, has been common to all monkish pedagogic, the *militia Christi* (soldier of Christ—war service). He designates two definite objectives as its goal, as did St. Benedict before him: furtherance of one's own salvation and the glorification of God or "the greater glory of God" (*ad majorem Dei gloriam*) and that which is peculiar to it, self-denial. This again reminds one of Calvin, who places all ethic under the category of self-denial and recognizes nothing as higher than the advancement of the glory of God. However, but one thing is common to these two men as shown in this apparent agreement and that is the inclination to strenuous labors,—a marked characteristic of both men,—which certainly does not exclude the nurturing of pious emotions and mystic contemplation, but only permits it to exert such an influence as will make the will to act both free and strong. For the way in which each of them applies these ideas reveals quite definitely the contrast which exists between them, which is a matter of world-wide history.

### "Ad majorem Dei gloriam," According to Calvin and Loyola

To further the glory of God means to Calvin the sovereignty of God on earth through an enforcement of the

Bible's laws (Bible-ocracy and theocracy); to Loyola it means the realization of the rule and power of the hierarchical Church in the sense of the ancient papal dogma. Self-denial according to Calvin means the complete surrender of self to the service of the God of the Bible, and here too belongs, and not in the last place by any means, opposition to the papacy. Loyola, on the other hand, using the same motto, demands complete surrender to the service of the hierarchical Church; but this, at the very outset, demands fighting against heresy, in particular, Protestantism. Thus in what seems to be an apparent and complete agreement on the part of Calvin and Loyola is shown a diametrically opposite attitude and conduct in practice.

### The Company's Privileges

Just as Loyola had tried to fit his followers for the calling which he had planned for them, so he endeavored to make the success of their labors certain by obtaining special favors for the Order in the line of exemptions and privileges. In response to his petition, Pope Paul III exempted all members of the Order and all of its institutions from episcopal jurisdiction; and granted a number of important privileges to the priests of the Order in their pastoral activities. These later on were increased by Julius III, and especially by Pius V, to such an extent that the Company was no longer inferior to the mendicant orders in the possession of special favors.

When the Order became a school or teaching order, Loyola received authority from Julius III in 1552, which was to be vested in the General of the Order, to confer academic degrees, such as Master, Licentiate, Doctor, etc., upon members of the Order under certain conditions. These degrees carried with them authority to teach the higher branches in education. All these privileges, which later

on were increased so markedly, were just as important in the life and activity of the Company as the *Mare magnum* was to the mendicant monks; for through these the teachers of the Order were placed on an equality with the university teachers, and the Order's well equipped schools on an equal footing with the universities.

### The Jesuits not Monks

Other privileges, still more important, were gained by Loyola. At his request the Jesuits were released from the duty incumbent upon all older orders, of singing the canonical hours regularly in the choir; and they were not required, like the older orders were, to wear a peculiar habit. In this way they gained the privilege of having the complete control over and disposition of their time and of moving about everywhere unhindered. Loyola's model in these matters was the Theatines, and on account of this the Jesuits were persistently mistaken for them for a long time, especially in Spain. Like the Theatines, the Jesuits were not monks, *monachi,* or mendicant friars, *mendicantes,* but *regular* clergy, that is clergy bound by monastic vows according to the class they occupied in their order, but released from all the duties of monks which prevented definite activities and services in church and school.

Taking all of these arrangements and orders of Loyola into consideration, it can truthfully be said, If ever a human organization was most completely equipped, both inwardly and outwardly, for the purpose it was intended to accomplish, it was the Company of Jesus. The successful activity of such an association is never dependent on its organization only or even on the spirit which inspires its members. Of equally great importance is the necessity that its highest leaders possess a full measure of ability to command and

rule. Loyola's ability in this direction and his skill in choosing the right coworkers were never equalled again.

### Early Coworkers

The most prominent of these coworkers was the secretary of the Order, Juan de Polanco. Under Lainez, 1556-1565, and Francisco Borgia, 1565-1572, he was the real head of the administration, and for this reason, after Borgia's death, the one best fitted to become the General. However he was not acceptable to the Italian fathers because he was a Spaniard; and he was not acceptable to the Portuguese because, like Loyola, he always unhesitatingly favored the reception of candidates of "impure," mixed, blood, that is, Jewish, like Lainez. Both groups finally reached an understanding to elect someone who was not a Spaniard; but as they did not think they were strong enough to accomplish this in a straightforward manner, they urged Pope Gregory XIII simply to command the election of a non-Spaniard. In this way the Belgian, Eberhard Mercurian, 1573-1580, became General.

### Dissatisfaction in the Company. Aquaviva

This event served to add to the already existing dissatisfaction with the administration of the Order which existed in Spain. Loyola's influential nephew, Antonio Araoz, had proclaimed a rallying-cry and program there which was very flattering to Spanish pride. The gist of it was this: Spain for the Spaniards!—the transfer of the rights and authority of the General to a general-vicar who would reside permanently in Spain; the election of the principal province officials by the fathers of the respective provinces; the change of the generalship to a short term elective office and the greatest possible limitation placed on his autocratic power. An ever-

increasing number of Spanish fathers favored these ideas; among them a large number of learned men who stood close to the court and to the chief officials of the kingdom. When on the nineteenth of February, 1581, a non-Spaniard, Claudio Aquaviva, a Neapolitan, who was only thirty-seven years old, was elected General, a formal conspiracy against the government of the Order arose in Spain under the leadership of Father Francisco Abreo.

### The Spanish Conspiracy

The purpose of this movement was to accomplish the objects enumerated above with the help of King Philipp II and the Inquisition. The King had been won to the conspirators' plans through dozens of petitions with which he had been deluged. In March, 1587, he requested Pope Sixtus V to order that a visitation of the Spanish provinces be made by some cleric other than a member of the Order; but Aquaviva persuaded the Pope to refuse the King's request, pointing out to him that the only thing aimed at was a limitation of Rome's authority. Nevertheless the complaints of the malcontents had made an impression on the Pope. He, too, thought it highly necessary to make a thoroughgoing revision of the Order's administration, and without doubt would have carried this through had he not died prematurely on August 27, 1590.

In the meantime Aquaviva attempted to reach an understanding with King Philipp and the Inquisition, and thereby isolate the Spanish rebels. But the King succeeded in winning over Father Jose Acosta, who had been entrusted with this mission, appointing him his agent for the express purpose of secretly beginning a movement for the call of a General Congregation. It was not a difficult matter for Acosta to accomplish this task successfully, as Pope Clement

VIII, who had been on bad terms with Aquaviva in former days, still maintained that disposition toward him, and the very influential Father Toledo, who had lived at the Vatican ever since the days of Gregory XIII, also was inclined to be hostile to the General. On December 15, 1592, the Pope without consulting Aquaviva ordered the General Congregation to meet.

Sometime before this Aquaviva had sent Father Alonzo Sanchez to Spain with instructions to institute new provinces. This proved to be a very fortunate move on Aquaviva's part, for by doing this he had already gained an advantage over the rebellion. More important still, Sanchez in the meantime had summarily dismissed the leader, Father Abreo, from the Order. With him out of the way and with new provinces established, Aquaviva had little need to fear the rebellion any longer, or even King Philipp, or the Pope, or Father Toledo, whom the Pope, without considering his remonstrances and in open opposition to the Constitutions, had lately elevated to the cardinalate (September 17, 1593) in order that a cardinal would not be lacking who, on account of his high rank, would take precedence and occupy the chair at the coming meeting of the General Congregation. In this way they thought the General would be check-mated in that gathering. Aquaviva, on the other hand, used his relative, Cardinal Aquaviva, to create such a feeling of anxiety among the Curialists on account of the dissatisfaction which had arisen in the Order over Toledo's appointment that the Pope allowed his plan to fall.

In order to obtain votes in his favor in the coming meeting and render his opponents powerless from the outset, Aquaviva hastened to send out notices and information in favor of the existing Constitution to all of the provinces of the Order. His success in this was beyond expectation, as the

Order's entire machinery of administration was at his command. Thus in reality before the Congregation opened, November 3, 1593, he had won the battle. At the same time he succeeded in influencing the sixty-four members in his own favor and himself urged the appointment of a commission which was to examine his life and official acts most carefully. This commission labored a whole month, and nothing was discovered in the General's life or actions which required censure. It was quite evident that he had guarded himself most carefully through all the years so as not to give his opponents just and well founded cause for dissatisfaction. The one thing which the commission thought necessary to report was that Aquaviva had allowed his fashionable Neapolitan relatives to send him preserved fruits occasionaly, and, as was the case with all great rulers, sometimes had asserted his own will too emphatically. After this the Congregation rejected every proposed change in the Constitution.

However, the Spanish Government, the Pope, and Cardinal Toledo did not consider the game entirely lost. They now attempted to force through, by the use of their authority and by cunning, what they had not been able to accomplish legally. The Congregation in January, 1594, at the Pope's command, was compelled to vote once more on some changes in the Constitutions relating to a limitation of the General's authority. The Pope succeeded in forcing only one of these propositions through, and this only because he had expressly commanded it. This dealt with and governed the periodic meeting of the General Congregation.

Even after these apparent defeats the contest was not given up either by Rome or Spain. An effort was then made, in a way which, on the surface, seemed entirely innocent and harmless, to get Aquaviva out of the way by offering him

the archbishopric of Naples. This was in 1596. But all interest and desire on the part of Cardinal Toledo to push this project any further was brought very cleverly to an end when the versatile Aquaviva capitalized the ill-odor connected with Toledo's elevation to the cardinalate, hinting that the Order might make an investigation. Toledo died on the fourteenth of September, 1596, but his patron, the Pope, remained immovable, hostile.

### The Dispute with the Dominicans

This was shown very definitely in the position which he took in the great dispute between the Dominicans and the Jesuits. This had broken out in Spain in 1558, over a book on the *Doctrine of Grace* written by Father Molina. The Jesuits maintain to this day that the Pope did not understand at all the principles at issue in the controversy. But even though the Pope was naturally more of a jurist than a theologian, he possessed enough theological knowledge to comprehend that Molina and the members of his Order had actually abandoned the religious principles of Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine, and the Apostle Paul; and this religious antithesis which existed between their teachings and the teachings of the Church, correct until now, was the determining factor in his taking sides with the Dominicans. Every time the Pope showed a disposition to decide the dispute in favor of the Dominicans, Aquaviva knew how to get behind and overcome it. At one time he played the favor of the Parisian Court against him; this was as energetically the partisan of the Jesuits as the Court of Madrid was in favor of the Dominicans. At another time Aquaviva threatened him indirectly with an appeal to an œcumenical council.

Clement, at length, angered by these actions and counter actions, at the end of 1604, agreed to the daring plan of the

Spanish Court, which had been devised by the rebellious Jesuit Mendoza, to get the undesirable man away from Rome. He therefore ordered Aquaviva to journey to Spain; for there, it was confidently expected, it would be possible in some way to make him harmless! Fortunately again for Aquaviva, this plot was thwarted at the last minute by the Pope's death on March 3, 1605. However, the dispute with the Dominicans did not come to an end with this event.

In September, the commission which Clement had appointed to examine this question began its investigation anew; and their attitude toward the Jesuits was hardly any more favorable than it had been, although the new Pope, Paul V, was not unfriendly to the Order. The Dominicans were so confident that the outcome would be in their favor that they even dared prepare a bull of excommunication against their opponents. Then something happened which suddenly changed the whole situation.

On the fourteenth of May, 1606, the Jesuits, because they were the Pope's most faithful color-bearers and servants, were expelled from the Republic of Venice "for all time" by the Seigniory, which was then at enmity with the Curia. After this occurrence a condemnation of the teachings of the Order which had been so summarily dealt with because of its faithfulness to the Pope was a thing impossible! Therefore, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1607, the Pope discharged the commission with the comment that he would announce his decision on the question in dispute later: until that time neither party was to accuse the other of heresy. As a matter of fact this was the Curia's last word in this affair.

What did the Order gain in this? First, the advantage of further propagating, unmolestedly, the very doctrine which the Dominicans had attacked so vigorously; then, the pros-

pect of making it the ruling doctrine of the Church; for, due to the position which the Company occupied as a teaching order, it dominated the whole field of theological instruction. It was in a commanding position to train the oncoming generation of clergy both in and according to its views.

### The Company and Jansenism

In the course of the next generation another very dangerous opponent arose against the Order. This was Jansenism. But as the Order had gained complete ascendancy at the Curia in the meantime, the Jansenistic controversy ended in the proscription of their opponents' doctrine and the dogmatization of that of the Jesuits.

### Aquaviva's Generalship

As far as the relation of the Order with the Curia and its commanding position in the Church are concerned, Aquaviva is the outstanding man and his generalship the decisive period. Up to that time it was always doubtful whether the Order would gain a deciding influence at the Vatican and in the religious life of the Catholic world. Since 1607 this question seems to have been settled for all time.

It has been truthfully asserted that Aquaviva had more luck than judgment. Whenever he did not know what to do next, some unforseen event always seemed to come to his assistance; examples of these are: the death of Sixtus V in 1590; the death of Clement VIII in 1605; the Curia's conflict with Venice in 1607. What politician could have accomplished such great things as Aquaviva had accomplished without such help? The greatest of such men have always realized that their greatest merit lay in their ability to turn events which were unforeseen, and which could not be foreseen, to their own profit, both promptly and completely. That

Aquaviva possessed this "merit" cannot be denied. He had so much luck simply because he knew how to use his luck!

### Aquaviva, the Company's Second Founder

But was he nothing more than a great politician? Dare he not be spoken of rightly as the second founder of the Company? Truly. He strove not only to maintain the Order's old constitution; but in some respects he gave added interpretation to it. Instead of a preeminently personal government, as had been the case under Loyola, a government by constitutional regulations arose under him. This change was necessary because the Order had become so large[3] that it was utterly impossible for the General to learn to know all of his subordinates personally, or to train them personally, or to watch over and direct them spiritually. It was also necessary because never again could a Jesuit General be all that Loyola had been, regent and "father," business man and religious personality.

### Aquaviva's Gifts

Aquaviva certainly possessed all the gifts which distinguish a master administrator: a well-nigh infallible memory, a tireless fondness and capacity for work, a gentle and happy manner in the solving and settling of difficult and complicated problems. But he was not a religious personality, let alone one of an inner power like Loyola's or even Borgia's. Nor does he measure up to Loyola as a regent: the creative talent and zeal which distinguished Loyola is utterly lacking

[3] In 1574, 17 provinces, 4,000 members; 1608, 31 provinces, 10,640 members; 1616, 32 provinces, 13,112 members; 1626, 36 provinces, 2 vice-provinces, 16,060 members; 1679, 35 provinces, 3 vice-provinces, 17,650 members, of which membership 7,870 were priests; 1710, 37 provinces, 1 vice-province, 19,978 members, of which 9,957 were priests; 1750, 22,126 members, of which 10,594 were priests.

in him. He founded but one new institution. This, however, was a very important one in the work of the Order, the residences. His only other constructive contribution to the life of the Order was a mass of ordinances; in fact these were introduced in such abundance that thereafter every branch of the Order's work and every detail of its administration were regulated most minutely; and no Jesuit could ever be in doubt as to just how he was to obey the statutes! Even the forms in which correspondence with the General was to be conducted were prescribed in detail. This was characteristic of the spirit which pervaded the administration of the Order at that time. In this, too, the change in the relation of the General to the Order which had been taking place gradually but steadily ever since Loyola's days is shown. In the place of the personal and the patriarchal an absolute and bureaucratic government had arisen. The chief significance of Aquaviva's generalship rests in his recognition of the necessity for these changes and in his deliberate and energetic adoption of them; and because his regulations usually were necessary the immediate effect was always advantageous. Orderliness arose once more in the Order's administration; complete articulation in its activities; unity in the Congregation, which had been sadly divided by national jealousies and quarrels. But, as had been the case with Loyola, Aquaviva betrayed a strong tendency toward the uncontrollable passion for making regulations,—the passion which is the characteristic sickness of a bureaucratic absolutism.

This passion now began to infect the Order's administration in every branch, and soon, by the middle of the seventeenth century, it covered such a wide compass and comprised so large a body of laws that a formal study of it was necessary even to find a way through the maze of ordinances

and instructions which the Generals and Congregations had issued. The result of this was,—as is always the case in such situations,—no one took these regulations any longer in the serious way in which they were intended; every one was satisfied if he was able to become acquainted with them superficially or only partially.

### The Reaction Under Vitelleschi

Something of a reaction followed under Aquaviva's immediate successor, the Roman Vitelleschi. The autocratic rule of the General actually ended; in his stead the professed and the leading high officials, who were chosen from the professed, took over the administration of the Order. Aquaviva, therefore, all of his ordinances notwithstanding, had been able to maintain only the autocratic formulae of the Constitutions and had not been able to maintain the spirit which had inspired these forms and had been the one thing which had made their practical administration possible, namely, the spirit of heroic self-denial through which the Order had grown to such greatness.

### The Company's Spirit of Self-denial

This spirit, however, had not been quenched altogether in every rank in the Company. It still throve especially among the coadjutors: simply because it continued to find rich opportunity to be busy in the mission fields and here and there in Europe;—for the experiences which the fathers had to endure, in England for example, almost surpassed the sufferings and difficulties which they had to overcome in the mission fields. This heroic zeal continued to live in the missions long after Aquaviva's death; for into these activities the most enthusiastic and ablest fathers always thronged; but soon after his death it began to decline in the European

activities, at the Order's very center, The Gesu at Rome, and in the highest rank, the professed, who more than any others had been intended to guard and preserve the spiritual heritage which Loyola had bequeathed the Company.

What did the Order accomplish in this first, heroic, period of its history?

# III

# THE ORDER IN ITS GLORY

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## THE ORDER IN ITS GLORY

An adequate description of the work of the Order during the first one hundred and fifty years of its history would require a recountal of the history of the whole sphere of Christian civilization, and in part also of the history of the civilized lands of south and east Asia, at the time of the counter-Reformation. This cannot be accomplished within the limits of a brief historical monograph. A true survey of the progress of events could never be made on the basis of the few well known names and dates which might be given a place in such a limited space. To say something which really says nothing is always worse than saying nothing at all. Therefore the attempt is made to characterize the scope, nature, and successes of the Order's activities during this period in a few sketches only and as objectively as possible.

### The Attitude of the Popes to the Company

There was no place as important to the Order as Rome; no power stood as close as the Curia; but right at Rome the Order was compelled to overcome many difficulties.

Pope Paul IV, Carafa, 1555-1559, had developed a purely personal hostility to Loyola. He believed that Loyola and his disciples were, as had been reported, Spanish partisans, and therefore felt in duty bound to persecute them. Gregory XIII, 1572-1585, was the only one of his successors who was unqualifiedly devoted to the Company. Sixtus V and Clement VIII also subjected the faithfulness and patience of

the fathers to severe tests. It was not until after Clement's death that the relations between the Vatican and The Gesu became friendly for any extended period of time. This changeable attitude on the part of the Popes toward the Jesuits did not prevent their performing the greatest services for the papacy without any abatement of devotion.

### Lainez at the Council of Trent

At the Council of Trent, Lainez was the papal theologian, and fearless of all consequences, advocated the doctrine of the infallibility and absolute supremacy of the Pope over the bishops. He was not successful in carrying this through but he did succeed in preventing the dogmatization of the opposition's opinion. It was due to him more than to any others that the Council rejected every friendly overture of the Protestants in connection with the doctrine of Justification, and that it accepted very strictly the docrine of Grace as taught by the scholastics instead of the teachings of Paul and Augustine on this subject. He also took a very important part in the formulation of the Council's reform decrees, especially in connection with its actions governing the establishment of theological seminaries. Through his influence the Jesuits' German College at Rome and their similarly organized colleges for the training of English priests became the official and standard models, and the direction of all such institutions was, at first, universally committed to the Jesuits.

### The Company an Inspiration to the Church

The Order was very zealous in forcing the acceptance of the Council's decrees in Catholic countries and in developing further and strengthening the Catholic dogma in the direction which Lainez had advocated at the Council. But it

accomplished something more of still greater importance. It restored to the Church a sense of spiritual superiority which it had completely lost about 1555, at least in middle Europe. The schools for higher education which the Order established everywhere after that time not only stood at the forefront among the educational institutions of the day, but by means of their rigidly uniform organization and the careful attention which they gave to the physical and social training of their youth they were superior to the new Protestant schools. This was the judgment of many contemporaries.

### Bellarmin and Suarez

The Order gave to the Catholic party before the end of the century a controversialist in the Italian, Robert Bellarmin, who excelled all of the Protestant theologians of that period in learning, dialectic cleverness and skill; and a theologian and philosopher in the person of the Spaniard, Francisco Suarez (✝1617), who taught the old scholastic philosophy and theology with so much spirit and acumen that Protestant theologians and philosophers were not ashamed to learn from him, and the attack of the newer philosophy, from Descartes to Kant, on scholasticism became to all intents and purposes an attack against Suarez.

### The Company and the Catholic Party

Still richer in practical results was the inspiration which the Order gave to the Catholic party: it inspired them with an energetic will to conquer; and this usually led them to victory. In Germany, where the Lutherans had become more and more aggressive and were in control of things, after 1555, it was not an easy matter for the disciples of the Order to hold this will to conquer firm. The Netherlander, Peter Canisius, who, on May 8, 1543, had been the first to swear

allegiance to the Company's banner there, and who after 1549 tried to organize the Catholic party in Ingolstadt, Vienna, Prague, Regensburg, Augsburg, and at many other places, at this time viewed the future with much gloomy foreboding. But the unwavering confidence which inspired the government of the Order always revived the German fathers' sinking courage so that they never quite gave up hope of the success of Catholic affairs. This hope, this will to conquer, constantly reinforced and inspirited from Rome, gave them a certain advantage from the outset over their opponents who outnumbered them so greatly. The latter, true to their German nature, did not desire actual victory, only toleration, "a place in the sun." They did not possess either a pronouncedly churchly ambition or a vigorous political one. In addition to this they were divided, after the real German fashion, into an immense number of parties who were most bitterly opposed to one another; and the Elector of Saxony had directed them in their political affairs about as badly and disastrously as was possible. Canisius was smart enough to turn these weaknesses and mistakes to his party's advantage.

The state of affairs in Poland and Hungary was not much different. Here also the will to conquer was stronger with the Jesuits than with any others. Here, too, from the outset, they had the advantage over their opponents both tactically and strategically.

### The Company Meets the Needs of the Times

However, neither the will to conquer nor the mistakes and weaknesses of the opponents would have brought them the victory had they not succeeded in thoroughly organizing the Catholic party everywhere, and had they not, at the same time, adapted the teachings and practices of the Church to the new needs of the times. Although they had expressly

and consistently emphasized the old absolutistic doctrine of the rights and power of the pope, they themselves were just as definitely unwilling to accept this teaching unqualifiedly with all of its mediaeval consequences. They attempted rather to spiritualize this. They agreed with a number of late mediaeval Curialists, like the well known Cardinal Cajetan, who substituted the idea of the indirect sovereignty of the pope in temporal affairs (*potestas indirecta in temporalibus*) for the old view of the immediate, universal sovereignty (*potestas directa*), and united with this the ancient doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. In this way they succeeded in setting aside that old idea which was absolutely incompatible with modern state-consciousness, and which Pope Boniface VIII had solemnly dogmatized in the bull *Confessio Unam Sanctam*. In taking this position they did not question the right of the pope to proceed against the heads of the state with coercive measures. On the other hand they asserted explicitly that he had the right to depose heretical or unbelieving princes and to declare invalid such laws of the land as were dangerous to the soul's salvation. They also acknowledged unqualifiedly and as perfectly legal the ban, the interdict, and that fearsome, cruel, mediaeval law against heresy. In practice they did not attempt to replace these ancient, violent methods with spiritual ones; but they tried to make them unnecessary by reforming public education and confession, and using these in the cure of souls, and by creating and fostering a new religious consciousness which secured for the Church an influence over the hearts of its children the like of which it had never possessed before.

### The Company's Schools

None of these reforms equalled the importance, as far as the future was concerned, of the new educational institutions

which the Order founded everywhere in rapid succession. The model for all of these was the *Collegium Romanum;* the educational code which governed all of them after 1599 was Aquaviva's *Ratio Studiorum;* their only authoritative superior was the Jesuit General.

At the middle of the seventeenth century the system of higher education in Italy, Portugal, and Poland was entirely in the hands of the Jesuits; in Spain, France, the Spanish Netherlands, Catholic Germany, and Hungary it was almost entirely so. The number of the Order's schools corresponded with this situation.

In 1574 there were 125 collegiate academies, that is intermediate schools, directed by the Jesuits; in 1608, 306; in 1616, 372; in 1626, 446 and in addition 37 seminaries; in 1640, 521 and 49 seminaries; in 1679, 578 and 88 seminaries; in 1710, 610 and 157 seminaries. These numbers would have grown more rapidly had not the first five generals refused as a matter of principle to take over any but adequately endowed institutions, and then only when a force of teachers was on hand adequate to the needs of the institution. Aquaviva records the fact that during the first twelve years of his generalship "he had declined more than one hundred and fifty colleges."

The majority of these schools were not only very well attended but overcrowded. At Munich, at that time still a small city, the fathers had 1200 scholars in 1618; 1462 in 1631. At Cologne, although there were two other gymnasiums (grammar schools) there, their college had over 1000 scholars in 1640. In Münster in 1617 there were nearly 1400; in overwhelmingly Protestant Augsburg there were about 600 in 1618. Astonishingly large numbers were reported from such unimportant places as Koesfeld in Westphalia (1632, 373), Solothurn (1647, 250), Lucerne (1647,

380), Steyr in upper Austria (1648, 104). As early as the sixteenth century this educational monopoly of the fathers and the control of almost the entire educational system in Catholic countries by a foreign official who was entirely independent of the country's civil and spiritual authorities was looked upon as an anomalous situation.

### The Reason for the Jesuits' Ascendency in Education

What then had induced the Catholic princes, bishops, and cities to turn over their old schools and universities to the Jesuits, and also to emulate rich individuals in founding new schools for them in many places? This is the answer. In the old Catholic lands of southern Europe it was without question the great lack of able teachers who had been educated in the classics and who were free from all objection, and also the fine reputation which the Jesuits had quickly earned everywhere because of their teaching. In middle Europe where the fight against Protestantism appeared to all good Catholics to be the most important task, it was above all else the conviction that the Jesuits alone possessed the ability and will to train the growing generation, which deserved a higher education, in accord with strict Catholic principles.

### Subjects and Methods

Did the Jesuit schools measure up to these expectations? The fathers gave to their schools the culture which the times demanded: Rhetoric after the fashion of Quintilian and the humanists, a complete command of the Latin language, which at that time still was virtually a living language, as it was used by the learned, the Church, and in part also by diplomats. The fathers did not recognize the need of an introduction into the spirit of ancient culture. For this reason Greek occupied an even less important place in their schools than in

the chief Protestant schools of the same class. They considered ability to write Latin verse, to declaim in public, and to take part in the acting of comedies the surest evidences of proficiency. They considered the best means to quicken the scholars' industry and interest to be a creation of incentives to meet their desire for honors; they therefore introduced such things as public performances, prizes, prize essays, contests between individuals and between classes, examinations, etc. In all these things they simply imitated the examples of the humanist pedagogues; nor were they the first to look upon religious training as being of the greatest importance. But they viewed this task in an entirely different way from the older pedagogues and attempted to meet the needs with other methods. They were not content merely with arousing and nurturing the scholar's religious interest; above all they sought to train him in a strict churchly-mindedness and habit of life. For this reason they did not lay as much stress by far on instruction in religion as on instruction in definite and methodical religious *practices*. Their effort to employ the tendency on the part of youth to organize associations and clubs by turning this to the just mentioned purposes was a Jesuit innovation. They encouraged their scholars to organize religious associations, and through these they accustomed them to watch over each other's religious conduct and to vie with each other in religious practices.

### Religious School Societies

The first of these societies was founded by Father John Leon at the Roman College. Their distinctive object was the veneration of the Virgin Mary: all of them therefore bore the same name, Congregation of Mary. At first, like all other religious societies, they were under the oversight of the local ecclesiastical authorities; but the Order thought it a

more advantageous policy to centralize their administration and make it uniform. They therefore received authority from Pope Gregory XIII on December 5, 1584, to place the direction of all of these societies in the hands of the General of the Order.

These congregations are, unquestionably, the most characteristic and important innovation which the fathers made in their educational system and also the classic symbol of the spirit and tendency of their activities, and the surest means of measuring the pedagogical success of these activities. Only where they throve did the fathers actually attain the goal for which they as educators were striving; namely, a lasting influence over the character and conduct of the growing youth, the equal of which had never been possessed either by the elementary schools of the middle ages or by the schools of the humanists. But opponents were not wanting even in those days who advanced pedagogical opinions against the new methods. On the other hand the care which the Jesuits gave to the scholar's physical training and the oversight which they exercised over his companionship were universally approved, as well their sparing use of corporal punishment. It was considered a great step forward when, in order that their ability in this mangy business need not be tested, they committed the administration of this sort of punishment to a lay server who was much feared by, and known to, the little scholars as the "blue man," because he wore a blue mask at the times of his "activity." Even Protestants during the sixteenth century, because of the foregoing reasons, not infrequently sent their sons to the Jesuit schools. Naturally many of these youths were won over to the Catholic faith, usually also to the Order. Thus Peter Pazmany, after attending the Jesuit school at Klausenburg three years, became a Jesuit; and after he had received his final

D. Edmond Hiebert
Collection

training at the Roman College, became the leader of the Catholic party in Hungary. At the time of his death he was Archbishop of Gran and a cardinal, and the little Catholic party had grown to be the greatest and ruling party in the country.

### Control of Higher Schools Only Desired

The fathers made many similar conversions in the commons which they maintained for poor students in connection with their colleges. But all this notwithstanding they accepted the management of such institutions only with reluctance; nor did they assume the management of theological seminaries with much willingness. Institutions which were purely elementary in their scope they undertook only as an exception, and then only in response to a very pressing need and not because they desired to. On the other hand they accepted the opportunity to teach in higher schools, such as universities, wherever the opportunity was offered, very willingly. A goodly number of their schools therefore were connected with philosophical theological academies or universities.

### How the Order Controlled the Higher Schools

The General appointed the incumbents of all professorships in the academies, and at the universities he filled at least the chairs of the faculties of Arts (Philosophy) and Theology. This was enough to make the General master of that particular university. In just such a way as this the older German universities, Ingolstadt, Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Mainz, Trier, Freiburg in Breisgau and Dillingen came under the actual control of the Company even if it was not always gained in a legal way. Würzburg, 1572, and Graz, 1585, were founded for them, as were also the academies at Bamberg, Fulda, Münster, Paderborn, Mol-

sheim in Alsace, Breslau, and Braunsburg in West Prussia. They also succeeded in gaining either complete or almost complete control of the instruction in the higher schools in Poland, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and in the Spanish crown colonies. Never had a religious order possessed so many higher schools or exerted during the course of centuries such a great influence on the instruction in them.

### Their System of Education—Strict Limitations

In which direction then did the Order make this influence effective? It immediately introduced the Italian system universally instead of the Parisian; that is, it ended all freedom in the choice of courses of study and all liberty in teaching, and placed instruction in the higher schools on a strictly regulated scholastic basis. Since all the universities at that time were still either partially or exclusively schools in the literal sense of the term, this did not always mean a step backward, in many respects it meant a step forward. The students learned from the Jesuits more quickly and methodically than under the old professors, but they always learned the *prescribed* curriculum *only*. They were never encouraged or directed to do any independent thinking and investigating. The Order had absolutely no appreciation for this fine and valuable method of instruction, and even if the Jesuit professor had an inclination in this direction, and the gifts to carry it through, he was not accorded the necessary freedom of action to employ them. He was strictly bound in every subject he taught to specified text books, interpretations and doctrines. This strict limitation was the strongest in the case of theologians and philosophers. Professors of Hebrew and Biblical Exegesis, as an example, were in duty bound to "defend" the text of the *Latin translation* of the Bible; they might only take the older translations and the writings of the

rabbis into consideration when they appeared to be favorable to the Latin version and to Catholic dogma. Further they were compelled to accept the interpretation of a passage in the Bible made by the popes or œcumenical councils as binding in every respect. In a similar way philosophers were bound to the authority of Aristotle; dogmaticians to the authority of Thomas Aquinas; but these last were not to out-Thomas the Thomists. Oddly enough they were expressly commanded to deviate from the teachings of Aquinas in teaching certain doctrines; but they were cautioned against following their own judgment in any important matters: the "more universal judgment of the theologians" was to be their pattern and guide. Just what the government of the Company understood by this, this fact will show; Jesuit theologians soon but gradually began to depart more and more in their teachings of the doctrine of Grace from the teachings of Augustine and Thomas on this dogma until they arrived at a point of view almost diametrically opposite to them; this process was always "official" as well as the ultimate result.

### Limitations Placed on Their Scholars

Historical students and teachers in the Company were somewhat less restricted; but restricted freedom was granted them only in the narrow sphere of the so-called auxiliary branches of historical study. In this field they did their best work. For the publication of ancient texts they had to make a thousand kind of researches, even more in connection with the editing of source documents. They never dared tell all they knew, nor always publish accurately all that they had discovered in the documents which they had edited. Where the historical truth would not seem to serve the best interests of the Order or of the papacy or of the Church they either had to suppress or correct it or pass over it in silence.

Rancke has truthfully shown in his well known work to what evident falsification of the true tradition this method leads under such conditions.

### Some Famous Jesuit Scholars

The astronomers and mathematicians of the Company enjoyed a still better situation; but a limit was set for them also. They dared not attack the ancient concept of the world. But it was in just these spheres that the scientific scholarship in the Order developed most prominently. Such names as Clavius, Scheiner, Kysat, Kircher, Grimaldi, Riccioli, Fabri, Boscovich, are, in the history of astronomy, mathematics and physics, always mentioned with honor. There is also a large number of great scholars in the group of historical students who, because of their industry in collecting materials and facts and because of their wide-spread critical researches, have earned the gratitude of posterity.

The place of honor among these must be given to the Belgian, Daniel von Papenbroek (✝1714), the most important of the editors of the Bollandists' monumental *Acta Sanctorum;* next to him the Frenchman, Denis Petan (Petavius, (✝1652), must be placed; it was he who blazed the way for the study of the history of doctrine and he also was the real originator of the scienific study of chronology. Then comes the Italian, Girolamo Tiraboschi (✝1794), the author of the first great history of Italian literature. The Tyrolian, Paul Laymann (✝1635), and the Spaniards, Luis de Molina (✝1600) and Thomas Sanchez (✝1616) were teachers of canon law and enjoyed a wide repute. The number of Jesuit dogmaticians and philosophers is almost beyond estimating; but the greatest and most influential of these, Bellarmin, Suarez, Franz Tolet (✝1596), Gregory of Valencia (✝1603), Molina (✝1600), could not achieve anything

actually new or original because they were restricted by the principles which have been referred to above.

This state of affairs is even more pronounced in the case of the exegetes. The most noted of these, Juan de Maldonato (†1583), was not in a position for this reason either to meet the Protestant scholars on equal terms or able to drive them from the scholastic field. When one realizes what an exceptionally large number of well-endowed and well-equipped schools were controlled by the Order and how easy it was to win to its banner the most gifted young men in every country, there is no adequate reason to boast of the Order's scientific accomplishments as its own disciples do as early as the seventeenth century. But it did hold the leadership unquestionably in the sphere of education in the Catholic countries at that time.

However, about 1715, when the philosophy of the Enlightenment began to make headway in the leading Catholic state, France, the Order began to loose its hold on its leadership in education. Up to this time the lack of spiritual liberty which gripped and restricted its literary activities had very little injurious effect on its authority. Till then it had actual control of the entire religious life in the Catholic states.

### A Symbol of the Company

If one desired to symbolize the genius of the Company in terms descriptive of earlier times, one would describe it as a schoolmaster, not with a switch in his hand but holding a rosary in one hand and the Latin grammer of the Spanish father, Emmanuel Alvarez, in the other; for the greatest success of their work in the schools, especially in those given to higher education, must be credited to these. Everywhere in Europe the school was the foundation of the Company's power, because in the calm and quiet atmosphere of these

institutions it could gain recruits from among the most able and intelligent young men.

### The Confessional

Next in importance to their activities in the schools was their activity in the confessional. During the Middle Ages the confessional was looked upon merely as a means of obtaining the necessary absolution of sins preparatory to the reception of communion or other sacraments. Lay people and clergy therefore went to confession very infrequently, the rule usually being during the Easter season only. Frequent confessions and communions were considered a much to be desired practice only by the small circles which fostered a mystic piety. Loyola and his disciples, we know, had espoused this point of view; but they took a step in advance of this. They not only urged this practice in general, but also attempted to establish it as a universal custom and widen its scope, effectiveness and helpfulness. They urged the penitent not only to acknowledge his mortal sins when making his confession, but then and there to lay bare to the priest the whole condition of his soul. In this way an entirely new interpretation was placed upon the sacrament of confession. It no longer remained merely just one of the sacraments, but became the principal means in ministering to the needs of the soul. Through this the priest, as has been said above, became the soul-guide (*directeur de l'ame*); and the preparation of ministrants for this office became, more and more, the most important task of the new theological seminaries which were modeled after the Jesuit mission-seminaries and also usually directed by Jesuits. This change in church life and practice also had an effect, as early as the sixteenth century, in the furnishing of the churches. The confessional was no longer considered merely a superfluous

or decorative article of church furniture. It became as indispensable in the proper equipment of a church as the altar. During this period it received the characteristic form which is prevalent everywhere to-day.[1]

### Counsel for Use in the Confessional

Loyola had instructed his followers in the *Directorium*, which he had commissioned Polanco to prepare in 1547, that no one was to be allowed to depart from the confessional without having been given some comfort; and that they were to respect the personal relationships of penitents as thoughtfully and carefully as possible in their ministrations as father confessors. Because of this the fathers quickly obtained and merited great repute as shepherds of souls; this was especially true at the Catholic courts.

### The Jesuit Court Confessor

A new religious functionary, whose office was a permanent one, was added at all Catholic courts to that of court chaplain, who had been one of the court officials since the early Middle Ages, and to that of court preacher, an office established in the late Middle Ages. This new functionary was the Jesuit court confessor.

The Order regarded this new office at first as more of a burden than a privilege or favor. In the first place this service at the royal court comported illy with the strict demands of denial of the world which the Order emphasized so seriously in its earliest days; and then it could easily lead to a still more serious result as far as the Order's discipline

[1] To-day in all Catholic countries the confessional in its form, plan of construction, etc., exhibits the "Jesuit style"; but the "Jesuit style" is confined to this one article only; for the Order never originated a unique style of architecture or one which might be regarded as strictly its own. Cf. on this subject the many works of Fr. Joseph Braun, S.J.

was concerned. The fathers who were appointed to this office might be tempted to resent and shirk the discipline of their superiors. The Order feared this because of its experience in the case of the Jesuit Mendoza at the Spanish court.

### Instructions to Court Confessors

Aquaviva tried to prevent this danger through his instructions to court confessors in 1602. He cautions them very earnestly against mixing in any political affairs and urges them not to allow the princes to use them as mere tools in praising or blaming their officials. But he also directs them to hold before their noble penitents, with pious candor, all that they think it necessary to further the glory of God, and orders them always to foster the friendliness of the princes toward the Company of Jesus; this they are to do with all their powers. These were not easy directions to follow at a time when religion and politics were so closely joined. The prince's confessor, although he might have the very best intentions, could not entirely avoid discussion of political questions in the confessional. He was compelled to consider them when the prince on conscientious grounds would seek his counsel about them, or when he feared that his penitent was proposing measures which threatened to entangle him in deadly sin. Among such questions were numbered, *always,* such matters as an alliance with heretical powers and the tolerance of heretics in the prince's own domain. The Jesuit court confessors, therefore, were always politically active. During the seventeenth century they even corresponded with each other from court to court over the political matters which concerned the various courts. Moreover the generals of the Order, after 1615, not only allowed them full liberty in all these matters, but they themselves also used them to influence the princes to the Order's own

political ends and especially for the purpose of gaining all kinds of privileges for the Company. At Vienna, Warsaw, Brussels, Lisbon, Madrid, and at the smaller Italian and German courts, the fathers seldom met with any opposition in such affairs from the chief minister of the government. Only one statesman, Richelieu, would never submit to the activities of the father confessors in governmental affairs. Unhesitatingly and arbitrarily he removed the Jesuit confessors who were attempting to thwart his plans, not only from the French court but also from the court at Turin. He even interned Father Caussin as a political offender. What was the result? The Order immediately retaliated by using every means in support of its own political ideas and plans, which ran counter to the Cardinal's political policies.

### Other Important Court Posts

Besides their activities as court confessors, the Jesuits usually occupied other posts of importance at the courts. They were court preachers, tutors to the princes, and at times had complete charge of the younger members of the royal family. They brought the same kind and measure of activity to these duties as they showed in the office of court confessor. Their position at court therefore was one of importance and much power; and they did not consider it either a matter of craft or a cause of mischief to arrogate to themselves purely political functions.

### Some Famous Jesuit Court Officials

The Austrian, Father Nidhard, in 1665, became prime minister and the grand inquisitor in Spain, thus becoming the head of the government. Father Fernandez in 1677 was a member of the Cortes and of the State Council in Portugal. Father Lachaise, guided by Fenelon's suggestive counsel,

administered the post of minister of religious affairs at the French court from 1675 to 1709. He was adviser to the king in making appointments to fill archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, and hundreds of smaller livings or benefices which were at the disposition of the crown. At the same time an equally important role was being played at Warsaw by John Sobieskis, a trusted counsellor, and by the "king maker" Father Vota, and in England at the court of James II, by Father Edward Petre, who eventually was promoted publicly to the Privy Council. Members of other orders, as an example the Capuchins, were also very zealously active in political affairs during that period, but the Jesuits surpassed all of them by far in all such activities.

### The Study of Moral Casuistry

The work of the fathers in the confessional compelled them to master the difficult science or study (casuistry) which enabled the father confessor "to lead into the way of salvation" the souls which trusted in his direction. In the late Middle Ages the books which served this purpose were called *summae casuum,* because it was the custom to explain and comment on the principles pertinent to every single case as thoroughly and exactly as possible. In the sixteenth century these methods were still in force; but as the father confessors were also expected to be soul counsellors and directors it was determined that an introductory discussion of the general principles of the Catholic system of ethics was necessary and to treat all of this more systematically than had been done heretofore. These books then were called text books of moral theology, although they dealt far more with things immoral than with things moral. In harmony with the purpose for which they were intended they were written in the language of the learned, Latin, and in legal phraseology.

They were therefore almost wholly unintelligible to all who did not have any training in legal fundamentals.

The Spanish Jesuits were responsible for the new method of treating the ancient casuistry; both in form and in fact this new treatment, without doubt, was a step forward. The Jesuits, and once more the Spanish fathers primarily, gradually introduced the new science into the course of study at the universities. They also made it the subject of learned and scientific discussions everywhere, and provided the largest number of, and the most useful, text books and monographs on the new branch of study. They were the leaders in this in the seventeeth century. Their efforts and accomplishments, at first, met with universal acclaim and admiration in the circles of those learned in the subject. Not a few of their "moralists," such men as the Spaniards, Luis Molina, Gabriel Vasquez, Thomas Sanchez, and the Tyrolian, Paul Laymann, showed by the practical way they used the materials related to the subject a brilliant legal keenness and an unusual training in legal principles. But in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century the situation began to change.

## Pascal's Criticism in His Letters

In the year 1643 the Jansenist, Antoine Arnauld, made the startling assertion in his book, *La morale des Jesuites,* that the Order taught an entirely new system of morals. The book was very poorly written and for that reason made a very poor impression, and had little weight. But when Blaise Pascal, who held the same views as Arnauld, in 1656 made the same assertion in his *Lettres provinciales,* and attempted to prove it in detail, the criticism really did strike fire. Now for the first time the term "Jesuit ethics" appears, and it is used to this day. The use of this term was a result of the *Lettres.* The widespread interest in them and their success

was due in great measure to their literary qualities. They are the first masterpiece of French prose; the first classic of French literature which carries the impress of the French spirit in the fullest degree, and this notwithstanding, they are a world classic, understood and valued everywhere.

Pascal affirms that he personally has examined all of the books from which he cites, and that some of them he had read entirely. This assertion deserves unqualified acceptance; but it cannot be denied that he frequently omits words and applications from his quotations which tone down the view he is criticising[2], or contradict it[3]; that at times he purposely changes the text[4]; asserts that the Jesuits mean certain things when in fact that are merely referring to them[5], or which they are showing cannot be carried out[6], and which Pascal deliberately misinterprets and misunderstands[7].

## A Criticism of Pascal

The careless Jesuit compiler, Antonio Escobar (✝1669), must be held responsible for some of these errors which Pascal utilizes so avidly; but in most cases the blame must be laid at the door of the Jansenist friends who gathered the large numbers of citations for him. And it cannot be asserted that these friends acted in good faith in choosing these excerpts, because the changes and omissions made in them related in part to passages which were fatal to their ideas (*e. g.* Sanchez, 83, the suppression of a quotation from

[2]Beja, 81*; Buny, 109; Laymann, 113; Lessius, 129; Azor, Tanner, 133; Bauny, 180.
[3]Reginald, 126; Azor, 128; Molina, 134.
[4]Escobar, 181, 185.
[5]Lessius, 129f; Vasquez, 242.
[6]Molina, 142.
[7]Corninck, 183; Filiucius, 106.

*The numbers refer to the pages in the critical edition of Pascal's *Lettres* edited by Aug. Molinier, Paris, 1891. The passages cited by Pascal are printed in full in the notes of this edition.

Thomas Aquinas). These men were accurately conversant with the history of theology and casuistry. Pascal was not. He did not suspect how old the majority of doctrines were which he branded as wholly new inventions of the Jesuits. Furthermore he lacked altogether the faculty of legal judgment. For example, he believed when the Jesuit scholars, who were considered authorities on the subject, did not define a trespass or crime as, say, simony, or murder, or theft, as the case might be, that they were countenancing such infractions of the law as *morally* allowable. Pascal did not comprehend that the only thing about which these men were really concerned was to determine whether such crimes fell under the *legal* conception of simony, murder or theft or not; and that they were not thinking, no, not for the moment, of declaring them allowable.

### Pascal's Assertions

The chief question here is: Are the accusations which Pascal makes in detail against the Jesuits founded on fact? Pascal asserts: "They are the inventors of casuistry, of amphibology, of mental reservation, of the practice of directing the intention, and of probabilism." Is this correct? No. Casuistry is almost as old as the ecclesiastical institution of penance. Amphibology, or the use of ambiguous words in connection with an oath and in other cases, was declared an allowable usage by the casuists of the late Middle Ages, for example, Raymond of Pennaforte (✠1275) The *reservatio pure mentalis,* or secret reservation, or the addition of a qualifying word in one's mind which would make it possible for one accused to make a false oath, was considered by the pre-Jesuit moral theologians of the sixteenth century a lawful practice or at the worst an excusable sin. Prierias and Bannez held these views.

### Probabilism

Probabilism, or the doctrine that the father confessor is authorized, indeed is obligated, to adopt and follow in doubtful cases not the more certain view (tutiorism) or the one more probably correct (probabiliorism), but only the one merely probable; that is, he is actually to adopt the view which is to be presumed as probably false. This doctrine bobs up, as occasion demands, in the writings of Thomas Aquinas. In 1577, it was taught in principle by the Dominican, Bartholomew de Medina, and thereupon adopted by the theologians of the other orders within a short time. It only became generally current among the Jesuits after 1598. To their credit it must be said that the General, Aquaviva, and the Order's greatest theologian, had absolutely no use for this doctrine.

### On Directing the Intention

Pascal's statement in the famous seventh letter concerning the *grande methode de diriger l'intention* rests, in great part, on a misconception. He misconstrued an instruction which was intended to guide the father confessor in his method of questioning the penitent about a punishable act, at which time the father confessor had to determine, among other things, whether the penitent had deliberately predetermined to commit the act,—for example, to kill his opponent in a duel,—or had set his intention on some other purpose which was morally allowable,—for example, the defense of his honor. Out of this Pascal made an instruction for counselling penitents *before* the commission of such a transgression. This turn which he gave to it meant that the father confessor would make it possible for the penitent to commit almost every possible punishable act with a good conscience. Further, Pascal also overlooked the fact that this method of

questioning had already been recommended by Thomas Aquinas, and had been practiced industriously by the casuists ever since the late Middle Ages. But Pascal's deduction, that what he calls a directing and disposing of the intention could readily develop from such instructions and practice, must be admitted. For example, it could actually happen that a duelist might seek the counsel of his father confessor before a duel, and be instructed by him in the manner described above how "to direct his intention" so as to escape moral or other penalty.

### Laxism and Attrition

The charge that the Jesuits were the originators of laxism and attrition is equally without foundation. Both of these were products of the late Middle Ages. Attrition is the doctrine which teaches that the fear of the punishments of hell which the transgressor experiences in the present and the anguish which he suffers now as a result of the evil and temporal consequences of his sins are to be considered a satisfactory penance. Laxism is the tendency to regard as mortal sins only those transgressions of some weighty divine or ecclesiastical law which are committed deliberately under aggravating circumstances, and to judge and punish the sins of the faithful as gently as possible.

These conceptions slowly became universal during the sixteenth century. The first reason for this was, the Catholic theologians felt that in all these matters they were called upon to emphasize as much as possible the contrast between themselves and the Protestants who denied the existence of any difference between excusable and moral sins, and demanded the strictest judgment of all sins (precisionism and Puritanism). The second reason was that the most important thing for them, as it had been for Loyola, was the neces-

sity of inspiring the people again with the desire to confess, and then to treat them with every possible consideration in the confessional, lest, perchance, they might repent them of their desire to repent and loose all desire to place themselves permanently under the direction of the father confessor.

Nor were the Jesuits, as Pascal asserts, the laxest of the lax. They were surpassed in this by far by the Theatine, Diana, and the Cistercian, John Caramuel y Labkowitz (✝1682), whom Pascal knew quite well.

### The Value of Pascal's Accusations

What follows from all this? As a matter of fact, Pascal's *J'accuse* is not directed against the Jesuits but against the entire Catholic system of moral theology of the first half of the seventeenth century. A distinctly Jesuit system of moral theology never existed at that time, let alone a distinct "Jesuit ethics." As a critic of the Jesuit system of moral theology Pascal's *Lettres* are therefore fundamentally abortive. As a critic of the current and universal Catholic system of moral theology they have, on the other hand, lasting value. Pascal recognized with unfailing perception and revealed the weaknesses and failures of this theology; and this made an impression on the responsible circles of the Church.

The well known decrees of Pope Alexander VII, issued September 24, 1665, March 18, 1666, and May 5, 1667, against the doctrine of attrition and forty-five lax moral-theological propositions, and the decrees of Innocent XI, issued March 2, 1679, and July 26, 1680, against sixty-five other offensive propositions and against probabilism, would scarcely have appeared had not Pascal through his accusations thrown the more earnestly thoughtful bishops, especially the Belgian bishops, into a salutary state of alarm.

### The Attitude of the Order

But did not the Order develop a system of moral theology and moral philosophy of its own after 1656?

In 1656 Pope Alexander VII advised the Dominicans to discontine holding and teaching probabilism. They followed this counsel. They then began to combat the teaching of this doctrine. Pope Innocent XI was the first to attempt to bring about a similar change among the Jesuits. He ordered the General, Paul Oliva, on July 26, 1680, to forbid his subordinates any longer to write in favor of the less probable meaning or intention and to oppose probabilism, and to instruct the teachers at all of their universities to conform their teaching to these orders. Did the General obey this command? No! He did not even make the papal decree known to the Order!

Then, in 1687, Innocent forced the election of the Spaniard, Thyrsus Gonzales de Santalla, as General. He hoped with the aid of this zealous anti-probabilist to compel the Order to submit to his will. Santalla did not disappoint his expectations; but the Jesuits rebelled against their own General; and in the end he had to yield because the Curia left him entirely in the lurch.

### The Company Espouses the Doctrine

While the other orders turned away from the doctrine of probabilism more and more, it became the doctrine of the Company, not legally but in fact; and they espoused it in its most dangerous form, the so-called lax probabilism. Those who taught this held that a view was to be considered worthy of approval if it is held by a distinguished teacher (*doctor gravis, probabilitas extrinseca*), for example, one of that numerous group, the Jesuit moral theologians; and it imposes the duty on every father confessor to decide in favor of

such a probable view when the penitent demands this of him, even if this is against his own convictions. It would not necessarily follow from this that the Order had developed a new system of moral theology and moral philosophy after 1656. Can this be proved?

For a time the philosophical doctrine of sin held by the Order was considered proof of this fact. This doctrine had appeared in the Order in 1666. But it can be shown that it had been proposed in Spain prior to 1546; and that it had been condemned by the official examiners of the Company as early as 1619 and again in 1659. On August 24, 1690, the Curia also condemned it.

## "The End Justifies the Means"

Had the Order by any chance proposed during that period the much discussed principle, "The end justifies the means," —one with which Pascal was not acquainted as yet? This principle has been constantly ascribed to the Jesuits in anti-Jesuit literature since the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but only since then. A very zealous search was made in the writings of the Jesuit moral theologians to find it; but it was not discovered either among the authors whom Pascal had used or among those with whom he was not acquainted. Had the observation been made that those authors always derived their moral principles—as far as they ever attempted to propose or establish them—from the Bible or from the law of nature, the search would not have been necessary. They never could have derived such a proposition as that imputed to them from the Bible or the law of nature; while they could have derived the opposite easily: "One dare never do a wrong to accomplish a right" (Rom. 3:7). This, as a matter of fact, is asserted by them much more frequently. The former of these two principles, imputed to

them falsely, therefore belongs among the so-called "Jesuit fables!" and the only thing about it worthy of an examination at the present day is to try to discover how it may have originated.[8]

### No Distinctive Jesuit System of Moral Theology

However, if the Jesuit Order espoused a definite tendency in moral theology during the eighteenth century, it was not alone in taking such a position. We repeat, a distinctively Jesuit system of moral theology never existed as such, let alone a distinctive Jesuit ethics. But in making this statement it is quite self-evident that thereby is not said that the directive instructions which the Jesuits, like the theologians of the other orders, gave to the father confessors for their guidance in their ministry to souls, dare claim universal approval. All of these betray the effort to make confession as easy and agreeable as possible for the sinner, and to put him in the position of satisfying *externally* the commandments of God and of the Church without submitting himself to them inwardly. The immoral volition is interpreted, there-

[8] R. Eucken, in *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die Geschichte der Philosophie,* pp. 178ff, believes that this arose as something which had been added to a deduction,—which Protestant professors of philosophy had observed also,—of the Jesuit philosopher, Pereira, in the book, *De communibus omnium rerum naturalium principiis et affectionibus:* L, 8; c, 2; Coloniæ, 1618. But this book had not only become antiquated by the beginning of the nineteenth century but also forgotten. If one learned in philosophy had read it at that time, presuming that he was a careful reader, he would scarcely have arrived at the idea, deducing a practical moral principle from the hyper-abstract propositions which Eucken quotes *in extenso.* The more humble controversialists in whose circles the dictum first appeared never read such books. I believe that Pascal's very much read manifesto furnished the start of the fabrication of the legend. In this, at the beginning of the seventh letter, Pascal puts this sentence into the mouth of the Jesuit father whom he introduces as a collocùtor: *Nous corrigeons le vice du moyen par la purete de la fin.* The references which Hoensbroech enumerates in *Der Zweck heiligt das Mittel,* 3d ed., 1904, have no evidential value.

fore, mostly as neutral morally or as harmless. The sensual feeling and desire alone (*delectatio morosa*) are always characterized as sinful. This exception is as much a characteristic of Jesuit practice in the guidance of souls as is the astounding indulgence on the part of the fathers and their disposition to yield to the tendency universally common to man, merely to satisfy good morals ostensibly,—indeed only a make-believe satisfaction at that!

### The Jesuits' Objective

There is plenty of evidence here to conclude that their primary concern was not to make men better and convert them, but to gain such a hold on them that they would submit to their direction permanently. They reached this goal through their practices in the confessional. The most dissolute and pronounced, artful and clever worldlings, who had never given as much as a thought to beginning a new life, willingly allowed the fathers to direct them "spiritually," because they knew very well that they did not have to give up any of their evil habits or even have to avoid the much spoken of "next opportunity to sin." Just that easy and agreeable the good fathers had made religion for the worldlings in particular! Thus boasted Father Le Moyne in a book which he wrote in 1652!

### The Importance of the Confessional

The work in the confessional occupied the very center of the Order's pastoral activities. Whatever other interests of a pastoral character may have engaged them, they all had but one central objective, to bring the people to the confessional and to influence them so that they would submit themselves to the priest's ministrations there. Through this activity and object, the Order gave a new turn to pastoral minis-

tration in the entire Church. Since then the Catholic priest is no longer primarily one who celebrates the Mass, or even a preacher, but father confessor and soul-guide.

### Individualization of Spiritual Work

As pastoral work as a whole had been given another character through the Order's methods, so its separate branches were also affected. There are two interests always which appear to oppose each other on the surface,—as in the case of confession,—which influence and guide the Order in these activities. The one is the effort to individualize spiritual work as much as possible, that is, to adapt it to the standard of education and to the peculiar needs of each nationality to which they minister. The other is the effort to popularize it as much as possible, that is, to dress and present it in such a way that the masses first of all will be reached and held.

### Preaching and Catechization

The Order put these double interests to excellent account, first of all in connection with the dissemination and preaching of the Word. It took over with great zeal, as its special work everywhere, the religious instruction of the children. Then it introduced Christian education everywhere it went. It is true that it was content to use any one of a number of catechisms in the instruction of the children. In Germany the "Canisian" was used more than any other. Father Canisius had been commissioned by Ferdinand I to prepare such a text book, and had published it in 1554. It appeared in many forms, and was intended to rival and supercede the Lutheran catechism. Due to its popular Biblical coloring and careful decentralization of all things directly polemical, it enjoyed a marked success.

In those days the fathers thought no more of treating the

materials of religious instruction according to psychological principles than did the Protestants. But they constantly strove to arouse an ambition to gain honors on the part of the children and their parents by introducing public examinations and dramatic recitations of the catechism. By these means they also tried to satisfy the masses' love for the spectacular.

### Their Preaching Methods

As they had done with Christian instruction so likewise they made preaching a permanent institution of the Church everywhere, giving to it also another character. By their example they taught the preachers to make their sermons short, simple, and adapted to the people, and ever to remember that the chief purpose of preaching was, as Loyola had required, the "betterment of morals." In one very important respect, which lay very close to Loyola's heart, they did not consider his instructions adapted to exact execution. They felt that where the Church must deal with heretics the preacher under certain conditions was obligated to discuss controversial theological questions in the pulpit. Therefore they practiced controversial preaching very industriously, notwithstanding Loyola's explicit prohibition. Not a few of them, like the Tyrolian, George Scherer (†1605), the Frenchman, Edmund Auger (†1591), the Pole, Piotr Paweski Skarga (†1612), the Hungarian, Pazmany, preached on the "Controversies" for a month at a time, and because of these sermons enjoyed wide repute as preachers.

The preachers of the Order undertook a much more important step in their preaching. They tried to "individualize" their preaching by introducing the custom of preaching special sermons to certain classes or groups of society. Lainez in 1554, at Genoa, delivered a complete series of sermons

to the merchants, under the general title of "Contracts," that is, on the laws of sale and exchange. Other fathers were active in the same way; some among the criminals on the galleys; others among the prostitutes in the Martha-houses; among the farmers and in the villages; among the soldiers in camp; and all of them took pains not only to satisfy the tastes of their temporary audiences, but also took account of their special needs and tried to meet them.

### Popular Missions

The most significant accomplishment of the fathers in this particular sphere was the establishment of popular missions. Even prior to the formal confirmation of the Order's organization, Loyola's followers had sought to arouse the masses from their spiritual lethargy through intensive spiritual ministrations of many kinds, but especially through Christian instruction, street preaching, and hearing confessions. This had been quite successful at Padua, Ferrara, Sienna, Bologna, and later also at Parma. Peter Canisius had labored in the environs of Vienna in similar fashion after February, 1553.

### The Residences

Aquaviva was the first to foster this particular group of activities and to improve them systematically. He obligated the professed to these things in particular and in 1599 created a special organization to carry these interests forward; this was the "residence." These were temporary residences, establishments, settlements or stations which could be moved readily to another place, and always consisted of eight persons, six fathers and two lay brothers. Four of the fathers, always in pairs, were to journey through the near-by places and be active in pastoral ministrations.

### The Order and Religious Organizations

As the Order had tried to reinvigorate the methods of disseminating the Word, so it also tried to animate the life of the religious communities and organizations in new ways. The majority of the brotherhoods of the Middle Ages met but once a month, and therefore as a rule exerted a rather insignificant influence on the conduct of their members. The Jesuits introduced weekly gatherings in their Marian congregations which they created after the example of their Marian school societies. Then they introduced the principle of class membership in the organization of religious societies, that is, the membership was confined to one certain group or social class. Thus they not only organized Marian congregations for older scholars, young scholars, and students, but also for nobles, citizens, farmers, workmen, for their helpers, apprentices, soldiers, clergy, bachelors, women, and girls. Here, too, note the effort they made to individualize the care of these groups in religious matters; but a purpose to individualize religion itself, either as a personal experience or valuation, was not planned in this or connected with it in any way. To the contrary, the fathers attempted to introduce and to spread a uniform and definite "style" of piety, one which, in great degree, was both external and demonstrative. They always emphasized and fostered as strongly as they could the use of the rosary, making of pilgrimages, processions, and veneration of saints and relics. They sought to give additional impetus and importance to the last mentioned by the addition of numerous new saints and relics, especially the new saints of the Company of Jesus, Loyola, Xavier, Aloisius Gonzaga; by the invention of many new indulgence stations, the erection of numerous new altars, pictures, and statues; and by the introduction of a host of new and special cults, among these in particular that of the

Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Joseph cult, and a number of new Mary cults, for example, the May devotion. Added to these were a great increase of pomp and ceremony in connection with the services, the restoration of self-flagellation and processions of flagellants, the introduction into common use of a new, specifically Catholic form of greeting, (Praised be Jesus Christ, etc.).

### The Jesuits Fostered the Externals in Religion

All of these things show that the characteristic methods which the Jesuits used in their efforts to foster religion in the lives of others found their expression and emphasis in externals. "The chief thing in the law" was hardly ever forgotten by the fathers, certainly not in this connection. Witness is borne to this by the zeal with which they sought to inspire and direct their new societies in various works of neighborly love and to impart to their spiritual wards the exercises of the first week as provided in Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises.* The usual general result everywhere, especially when the fathers had made confession such an easy and agreeable practice for the worldlings, was an externalized and purely mechanical piety and a deadening of the masses, at least where Protestantism once had ruled.

Nor can this judgment be altered by the fact that Fathers Nicholas Cusan (1627), Adam Tanner (1627), Paul Laymann (1625), and Frederick Spe (1631) entered the field against the cruel form of the trial of witches; for these did not attack the *faith* of the witches, but only the inhuman form of the trial, which was a sad mockery to all judicial procedure and fairness (for this reason the title of Spe's pamphlet, *Cautio criminalis*). Further these men stood alone; they found no sympathy in the Order for their efforts. Spe could only dare to publish his very meritorious *Cautio,* in

which he took sides against del Rio, a member of the Order, anonymously, and from a Protestant press. And even though hatred of the Order on the part of those who later on try to show it up seems to charm and possess them to such a degree as to make it both exaggerated and laughable, the assertion made by Nicolai and his friends is unquestionably correct, the Order did not labor to bring about enlightenment. Only where national or popular unbelief bore the obliterating impress of heathenism, as in the Abruzzos, did the Order proceed against it and try to bring about a reform.

### The "Religion of the Second Class"

These apostles of enlightenment on Jesuitism certainly err if they think that the fathers fostered those primitive ideas, customs and cults so zealously *against their better judgment*. This surmise is utterly without foundation. The Jesuits were so thoroughly convinced of the correctness of those ideas and of the real worth of those customs and cults, that by word and in writing, and with a genuine fanaticism, they recommended and defended them, and tried to establish them philosophically and theologically. That these labors at times were covered with pious deceptions does not contradict, but only goes to show how far this fanaticism went under certain conditions. They seldom went so far as to adopt the questionable and ignoble measures used so frequently by the Church during the Middle Ages when it went about creating a new source of income by establishing a new place of pilgrimage; but they did not hesitate to adopt them in order to destroy every doubt that arose of the wonder-working power of the Mother of God or of the new relics "discovered" by them or of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary which they championed so enthusiastically. That this predilection for the "religion of the second

class" increased the Order's influence over the masses immensely cannot be denied. The Order fostered not only this "religion of the second class" but also both of the higher forms of Catholic piety which were already current in the Middle Ages. These were the cultural or ecclesiastical mysticism and the ancient divine mysticism; but in both of these they made characteristic changes. Emotions which could not be actualized in external actions had, in their eyes, either no or a very small value. Therefore they attacked both pantheistic and quietistic mysticism with equal energy, and tried to accustom the pious to regard the mystical exercises merely as exercises, that is, as a means of cleansing the soul of "evil passions" and of ordering their conduct anew. Loyola had shown them how this was to be done in the *Spiritual Exercises.*

### Jesuits' Teaching on the Mass—The Sacred Heart

They gave quite another character to cultural or ecclesiastical mysticism when they introduced the theory of maceration and mortification (theory of destruction). In this they held and taught that in the mass Christ is actually and truly sacrificed once again, and that this sacrifice reaches its climax when the priest eats the bread and drinks the wine. Then, after 1675, they cultivated the cult of the Sacred Heart with great zeal; this had come down from the Middle Ages. By this means they offered a new objective to the devotion of the faithful, one which would inflame their devotion more readily and to which they would cling more easily than to the host in the mass. This too had a marked effect on the cultural or ecclesiastical mysticism. One may therefore assert without fear of contradiction that while on the one hand the Order tried to spiritualize the old Curialist dogmas, the laws and customs of the Church, as much as possible; on the other

hand it betrays a marked tendency to materialize piety. This is evident in all of the methods employed by them in fostering religion. Thus, on the one side, the Company took the instincts of the masses into consideration; and, on the other, it made it easier for the Church to adapt itself to the political and social make-up of the modern world without forcing it to abandon the ideal of the Middle Ages, an ecclesiastically directed and governed culture.

### Their Attack on Heresy

These efforts at spiritualization are unmistakably evident in the way in which the Order prosecuted its attack on heresy. The Church of the Middle Ages destroyed heretics with fire and sword. Theoretically the Order acknowledged that this ancient and violent method was altogether justified; but in practice it adopted the gentler method of persuasion,—moral and pedagogical pressure. It did not seek or force bloody persecution and even the crucifixion of heretics, as the Dominicans did at one time. It was much more in favor of depriving them of their civil rights and of banishing them, especially the leaders and their obstinate followers. This attitude also harmonizes with their attitude toward the Inquisition. As a rule, the Order refused to enter its service because "that kind of work was not suitable for them." Even though their attack against heresy, especially the controversial methods, which were a mockery to all good ethics, seem both crude and rough to men of to-day, still, when compared with the frightful methods used against heretics in the Middle Ages, theirs, unquestionably, were a step forward. The Order gained outstanding successes only when the civil authorities seconded their efforts by using their own means of coercion in addition. Where it strove to gain a spiritual conquest of the government or of

the ruling classes in a nation, as in Sweden, Scotland and England, there at best,—as in England,— it was able to save what remained of the Catholic Church from complete destruction, but was never able to win many new souls for the empire of the Pope.

### The Company's Activities Outside of Europe—Xavier

The Company performed a mighty work outside of Europe in heathen lands. Did it set up new objectives and invent new methods in this field of labor also?

The first, and according to the judgment of the Catholic world also the greatest, of their missionaries, Francis de Jassu y Javier (Francis Xavier), does not at first glance give the impression that he is an innovator. After a journey which lasted over a year he arrived at Goa in Portuguese East India on May 6, 1542. He joined the mission which had existed there for a long time, and at first labored entirely in the accustomed way. His watchword was conversions *en masse*, not single conversions! As soon as the heathen had learned Loyola's catechism by heart,—(Xavier had had it translated into all the languages with which he had to deal)—and had declared themselves ready to confess the twelve articles of the faith, he often baptized them by hundreds, until his voice failed and his arm grew lame. His missionary preaching consisted wholly in picturing as vividly as possible and as far as his very limited acquaintance with the language permitted, the terrors of hell, the entrances to which horrible place he believed were immediately before his eyes, —the volcanoes of the Moluccas. He was especially active in baptizing dying children wherever he found opportunity. All Jesuit missionaries imitated him in this, not for the sake of parading a large number of baptisms, but in order to drive

the devil away from as many souls as possible, even if it were their very latest breath, and to save them for heaven.

### Xavier and the Civil Government

He also followed the example of his predecessors in claiming unhesitatingly the protection and assistance of the civil power for his work. He demanded that the King of Portugal punish all colonial officials who were not interested in the propagation of the faith with confiscation of their property and long terms of imprisonment; that the Portuguese Viceroy make war against the native Indian princes who were hostile to Christianity; and that the Portuguese fleet attack the Arabian coast and bombard Mecca in order to deliver a death-blow to the power of Islam.

### Xavier's Method of Organizing Missions

All of this is quite in harmony with the spirit of the Middle Ages; but there is something new, wholly in harmony with and expressive of Loyola's ideals and methods, in Xavier also. This is his effort, which is constantly recurrent, "to be all things to the heathen, in order to win all of them." The working out of this resolution is shown very plainly in the method he devised when it became necessary to establish a form of ecclesiastical organization among the pearl fishers who dwelt along the east coast of Cape Camorin. He had converted large numbers of these in great rapidity since the end of 1542. Here he did not organize congregations after the European example as the Portuguese had done; instead he put one of the new converts in charge in every village, a Kanaka assistant or "sponsor." It was the duty of this assistant then to gather the people on Sundays and Festivals and have them sing the Creed. In addition this "sponsor"

was to administer whatever baptisms might be required and perform the weddings.

### Xavier a Great Organizer

Wherever it was possible Xavier established Christian schools and appointed native-born priests. A good example of this was in the fishing villages along the coasts of Travancore, which he had converted in 1544. The measures which he devised and the very intelligent and prudent instructions which he gave his coworkers show that in his own way he had just as great a talent for organization as Loyola. Far more important was the way in which he, a true scholar and imitator of his master, Loyola, always tried to adapt his personal approach and conduct in every possible way to the peculiarities of the people he was striving to win.

### Xavier's Mission to Japan

On the fourteenth of April, 1549, Xavier embarked at Goa to sail for Japan with the Japanese Samurai, Anjiro, with whom he had become acquainted at Malacca in July, 1547, and meanwhile had converted and baptized. He resolved, while *en route,* to deny himself all flesh, fish and spirituous drink while in Japan, like the Buddhist monks, in order to win the people. This he carried out with great strictness when he landed at Kagoshima on the island of Kyushu, August 15, 1549. The fact that the bonzes observed their vows with scant faithfulness only made him observe a much stricter discipline in his own actions, so that the people might see how much more earnestly he observed the laws of his God than the Buddhist monks observed the laws of their religion. He did not fail to gain the result for which he hoped. But he soon realized that this would not enable him to reach the circles of power and culture whose favor was of the greatest importance to the further progress of his work.

### His Many and Constant Activities

The only way in which he could make a serious impression on these higher circles was by placing before them prospects of worldly advantages, or approaching them as a kind of worldly potentate, and by showing them he was their superior in education. For this reason he undertook, at Kagoshimo, to revive commercial intercourse between the Japanese and Portuguese. When, as a result of this, the ocean trade was opened at Hirado in September, 1550, he immediately used the opportunity to gain permission from the Daimio there to begin Christian preaching. From there he wandered to Miyako (Kyoto), the seat of the Mikado, during the winter. But his hope to greet and convert this personage fell flat.

### His Success

But the journey had not been without profit to the mission as Xavier soon came to understand that the Mikado possessed little or no authority, and therefore the Order must seek to interest the mighty feudal lords, the Daimios, if it would succeed. Having gained this knowledge, he resolved on returning from Miyako, about April, 1551, to present the letters and gifts from the Viceroy of India which were intended originally for the Mikado to the Daimio of Yamaguchi. These gifts were "a music box, a clock which struck twelve times, accurately, by day and by night, a pair of spectacles through which an old man could see as clearly as a young one," etc. These gifts won the Daimio. He issued a public edict permitting the preaching of God's law.

At Funai, in the autumn of 1551, Xavier arranged to appear before the Daimio, not in his mendicant garb, but clad in a white surplice and costly and ornate stole; he also arranged that the Portuguese merchants accompanied by their entire

retinues of servants should escort him to the audience. The Daimio, Otomo Yoshisige, after that display, did not doubt that the "Bateren," the fathers, were very important men among the Portuguese. He therefore showed them his favor immediately; and, as a result of this, the fathers in a comparatively short time made progress more quickly in his little state than anywhere else in Japan.

Even though Xavier was careful to observe all these externalities, he never lost sight of the more difficult and more important task of adapting himself mentally to the peculiarities of this strange nation as much as possible. He realized that if the missionary was to win the cultured Japanese he must be, before all else, a quick thinker and logician, and a tireless and always ready debater. Xavier busied himself consistently day and night, as far as his limited knowledge of the language allowed, in preparations which would enable him to hold his own with them in these things. Here, too, he realized that no missionary could count on permanent success in Japan until he had acquired the Chinese culture thoroughly.

### His Death

He had already made up his mind to go to China when he embarked at Bungo on November 21, 1551, to sail to East India. He hoped to gain entrance to China as a Portuguese ambassador. Don Alvarez Silva, the Governor of Malacca, was not inclined to endanger the profitable trade with China by such an experiment, and therefore put an embargo on Xavier's ship. At length, in October, 1552, but only as a private individual, he reached the island of Sanshan, near Macao, the Portuguese-Chinese trading post in the Gulf of Canton. Xavier believed that he would be able to gain admission into the middle kingdom from here by profuse

bribery; but in the midst of these preparations death overtook him on the second of December. The Portuguese merchants found the dying father in a miserable shed, and buried him speedily in the sand along the shore. Thus, as it seemed, his life ended in a failure; but viewed from the standpoint of his accomplishments,—even though his life had lasted but forty-six years!—it was no failure, but the greatest triumph which Loyola had wrested from the weaknesses of man.

### Characteristics of Xavier

Through this disciple, who had caused Loyola the greatest concern and whose "conversion" had put him to the greatest trouble, he had inspired the Jesuit missionary spirit with a will determined to conquer: this had accompanied them into every corner of the world. Xavier's "Onward! Ever Onward!"—"amplius"—became their ever inspiring watchword. This will to conquer showed itself in Xavier in a driving nervous restlessness. He never remained at one place for any appreciable length of time. He had to be moving forward always. He spent the greater part of the ten and three-quarter years of his missionary activity in journeying from one place to another. Patient, persistent, thorough work at one place was not the sort of work he did. In this he differed radically from Loyola. He did not learn to speak either Tamul, Malay, Japanese, or Chinese correctly. Nor did he take pains to acquire an exact knowledge of the Indian, Malayan, or East Indian religions and culture; and therefore in all of these places he undervalued the great difficulties which the mission had to overcome in these ancient cultural circles. His restless energy made him seem like a meteor in his work; but this rapid and almost incessant activity revealed to his astonished brethren, as one sees a scene in the lightning flash, the immense, far-flung field of

labor which awaited them in South and East Asia; and indicated to them in great bold strokes the ways they should travel and the methods they should use in their own individual labors.

The force of Xavier's personality; the mighty, heroic urge which infused his whole life and being; his whole-hearted devotion which knew no care or concern about his own comfort, or jealousy, or desire to rule; and his magnificent and restless courage which was constantly confirming his confession by new deeds, "I fear God, but nothing else in all the world;"—these all deeply impressed and fascinated his brethren, more especially as over his memory the beautifully tinted veil of legend quickly descended.

### The Japan Mission After Xavier's Death—"Accomodations"

However, it was quite a difficult matter to continue his labors; for, in the first place, everywhere he had been he had left behind only beginnings; and, in the second place, there were no men fitted to take his place; in fact there were not enough men in the Order at that time to man all of the new stations. Notwithstanding this, some progress was made in these fields, especially in Japan, but very slowly. Here the superior, Cosmo de Torres, whom Xavier had appointed in Yamaguchi in 1552, hit upon a new way of making the work of conversion effective more quickly. He announced to the princes and people that the western priests had come solely "to carry the law of Buddha to a higher development." As proof of this, before the "Bateren" (fathers) entered upon their labors at any new place, they shaved their heads completely and their faces, in order that externally they would appear exactly like the Buddhist bonzes. And in all of their services of divine worship they were particularly careful to

arrange that "the one who had come over from the Buddhist state religion would not have to give up anything which the new religion did not make up to him doubly and even in a better way." These "accomodations," as their methods have been called, however concerned external practices only. For example, they turned the Christmas, Passion, and Easter celebrations into formal dramas, imitating the ancient Japanese custom of observing the feasts of their gods with theatrical spectacles. They did not change the nature of ecclesiastical preaching or custom nor a single one of the established fundamentals. Thus they emphasized very definitely the difference between Christianity and "the service of idols."

To this they added careful instruction, and provided translations of the liturgy, lives of some of the saints, single parts of the Bible, and a summary of Bible history. In this way the Japanese learned the difference, too, very quickly and accurately.

The fathers did not offer the Japanese a "Buddhafied" Christianity, but one adapted to the Japanese spirit and customs as much as possible. By using these methods of accomodation they wanted to get the people and their leaders to give them a hearing (and they accomplished this only); to gain the princes' permission to preach the new law; and to accustom the newly baptized to their new faith more quickly. No one was converted through these "accomodations."

The first converts were made by preaching, or by seeing the fathers' love for their fellow-men and their blameless examples, or by the success of their medical skill and the many wonderful cures which they performed by means of holy water and consecrated hosts. But the thousands and tens of thousands who followed them after 1563 were made converts through the proselyting zeal of the Christian

Daimios; a zeal which as a rule the fathers did not try to curb, but, on the contrary showed itself first in driving out the Buddhist priests and the destruction of the heathen temples; then in a forced conversion of their subjects to Christianity by the wholesale.

### The Practice of Accomodation

The practice of accomodation which was the outstanding characteristic of the fathers' methods in Japan was not related to religious categories as much as to political ones; this is shown by the characteristically Japanese translation of the fundamental principle, *ejus regio, ejus religio.* It consisted in the active part the fathers took in the internal strifes as the soul-guides of the Christian Daimios and Samurai. The noise of this echoed and reeochoed through all Japan. It also consisted in their energetic promotion of trade between the Portuguese and Japanese by which means they made themselves indispensable to the rulers who were unfriendly to them.

### The Growth of the Mission

By 1577, although the fathers never had numbered more than eighteen, they had gathered, especially on the island of Kyushu, more than 100,000 Christians. When Alexander Valignani came to Japan as official visitor and inspector (1579-1581), he increased the number of workers to sixty-eight and the number of churches to about 200. In 1579 he opened a college at Nagasaki, a city which had been especially founded for the fathers; and in order to make it possible for natives to enter the priesthood and the Order he founded seminaries at Miyako and Arima and a novitiate at Usuki near Funai. By the end of 1581 the number of Chris-

tians had grown to 150,000 and to 200,000 by the end of 1587.

### The Jesuits Ordered to Leave Japan

The stronger the influence of the fathers over the Daimios and Sumurai, the more irksome and undesirable they became to the new lord of Japan, the usurper Hideyoshi, who with great energy and skill, since 1582, had been restoring unity to the disrupted kingdom. On July 25, 1587, much to the consternation of the fathers, he commanded them to leave Japan within twenty days, and forbade the Daimios to acknowledge allegiance to their laws thereafter.

For a time the Jesuits were compelled to cease their labors on the principal island; but on Kyushu, trusting in their powerful friends among the Daimios, they continued to labor on. In 1595-6, notwithstanding the edict of exclusion, there were five houses of the Order in Japan and fifteen residences or stations, one hundred and thirty-seven fathers, and six hundred and sixty native seminarians, and about three hundred thousand native Christians. Among these there were more than half a dozen Daimios, one or two of these being very distinguished princes.

### Arrival of Spanish Franciscans—Christian Martyrs

Meanwhile, in spite of papal prohibition, Spanish Franciscans had ventured to enter Japan, and notwithstanding the edict of 1587 had established a church at Miyako quite openly and had even gone to the length of establishing a cloister at Osaka. The bad impression made by this piece of folly was heightened by the even more foolish assertion of a Spanish sea captain, that when His Catholic Majesty wanted to conquer a new country he first sent some monks there in order to convert the people. Thereupon Hideyoshi felt

forced to make an example at last. On February 5, 1597, at Nagasaki, five of the unwise Franciscans, seventeen Christians, and three Japanese Jesuits, after suffering exquisite tortures, were crucified at his command.

### Opposition to the Mission

In the struggle which arose after Hideyoshi's death on September 15, 1598, for the mastery of the kingdom, the powerful friends of the Jesuits opposed the most promising of the competitors, the prince Iyeyasu of Tokio, against their express counsel, as they later asserted. Iyeyasu's decisive victory in October, 1600, therefore meant a serious defeat to the Christians also. But like his predecessors he could not do without the services of the fathers altogether. They were his interpreters and agents in his intercourse with the Portuguese merchants. Personally he was a most zealous Buddhist, but because of the fathers' services to him he showed them many favors at first. He even went so far as to give an audience to the Bishop of Japan in 1606 and to the Vice-Provincial Paez in 1607. But he was determined to break up the trade monopoly held by the Portuguese and permit their rivals the Spaniards to enter the land. Since he could not get the Spanish merchants without the Spanish priests and monks, he allowed Spanish Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinian Eremites to settle in Japan. This was in 1602. This constituted a menace to the religious monopoly which the Jesuits had enjoyed, over the maintenance of which the fathers were just as jealous as the Portuguese merchants were to keep their trade monopoly. The Spanish monks on their part were as keenly desirous and resolved to break their religious monopoly as the Spanish merchants were to end the hold the Portuguese held on the markets. The result was a very unedifying little war

between the rival orders and merchants. But this did not seem to interfere with the progress of the mission. In 1605 it was estimated that the number of believers had reached 750,000; at the beginning of 1611, about 1,000,000.

At Nagasaki, the kingdom's most important sea port, the padres held the ascendancy. At ancient Miyako, the chief city of the kingdom and its most influential cultural center as far as the religious life of the land was concerned, Padre Spinola opened an "Academy of Sciences"; and preparations were being made to establish a residence at the new capital, Tokio, for the purpose of influencing and converting the numerous high and lesser nobles held hostage at the Shogun's court.

### The Destruction of the Church in Japan

If the time was ever to come when all Japan, willingly or unwillingly, was about to yield to the dominion of the Cross, it did not seem too audacious to the fathers to think that this moment was now at hand. But the sins of the Christians and the distrust of the heathen prevented the realization of this dream. The long war of extermination began in 1612. In a few years the flourishing Japanese Church had been completely destroyed!

### Jesuits Enter China

The Jesuits went to far greater lengths in adapting themselves and their methods to the ruling religions in China and India than they had gone in Japan. The great organizer of the Japanese mission, Alexander Valignani, was the first to begin the work in China. Fathers Ruggiero (1581) and Pazio (1582), whom he sent there first, did not penetrate any farther than Canton. Matteo Ricci, of Macerata, the third to be sent, succeeded, after 1583, in penetrating to the interior of the kingdom.

## Matteo Ricci

Ricci passed the next seven years in the closest relations with the Buddhist priests, and during this time grounded himself thoroughly in China's ancient classical literature. As a result of these studies he became convinced that Buddhism was not the all-ruling religion of China, but that the ancient and official religion, which the Emperor and mandarins still professed, included all of the elements of the so-called primitive religion of mankind (*lex naturae*) which God had written in the hearts of all men and which, to make it more definite and secure, He had later declared once more in the Ten Commandments. These elements as he believed he had discovered were: Faith in the one God; the Golden Rule of rational morality, "Whatever you do not want anyone to do to you, that do not to another"; and even this, though not very clearly, faith in the immortality of the soul and a divine judgment of good and evil. He was also convinced that the great master of the learned, Kung (Kung-tse—Confucius) was hardly inferior, as a philosopher, to the heathen philosophers of Europe, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero; rather their superior in many respects; and that the official religion of China had not been contaminated during the course of the centuries by monstrous deformities and gross errors to the extent the religions of Greece and Rome had been. In short this very ancient religion had made such an overwhelming impression on him that he believed he had discovered in it the original divine revelation or natural theology which, in the system of Thomas Aquinas, forms the foundation for the supernatural dogmas of the Church. He had the boldness to assert: "For the last four thousand years it has been possible for the people of China to be saved: for he who lives according to the commandments of that primitive religion to him God does not refuse,—according to the teachings of the theolo-

gians,—that especial help or grace which enables man to attain eternal salvation." Thereupon he made this further conclusion, that the mission would not dare, under any circumstances, to set aside or ignore the religion of the scholars and Kung's philosophy. All it had to do was to cleanse it of the accretions of the passing years which had only served to obscure it—in other words to carry it back to its original form—and then, following the example of Thomas Aquinas, immediately connect with this primitive religion the supernatural doctrines of the Church. For these doctrines are actually nothing more than just what reason and understanding require to supplement and complete Confucianism. Accordingly he then considered his most important task to be to win the representatives of the ancient Chinese culture, the scholars, the mandarins, and the Emperor.

### Ricci's Methods

With this in view, he completely transformed himself outwardly into the appearance of a Chinese scholar and then journeyed to their chief center, Nanking. Here he tried to gain entrance into their circles by means of addresses on astronomy and mathematics; for these sciences held the chief place of honor among them, and in just these branches he was vastly superior to all of the wise men of China because he had been a student of that great mathematician and astronomer, Christopher Clavius. It scarcely need be added, for it is self-evident, he did not neglect a single opportunity when making these addresses to introduce instructions of a religious nature.

Ricci observed that the Chinese, who were responsive to his teachings, showed a willingness to give up everything that appeared idolatrous to him except the worship of Kung-tse and the worship of their ancestors. This moved him to

undertake the study of these cults during the next few years; and this he did very thoroughly, going right to the sources, the Chinese classics. In the course of these studies he arrived at the conclusion that when the Chinese prayed to Kung-tse or to their ancestors they were not praying in order to obtain something, nor did they expect any supernatural aid from them. He therefore felt that he was not dealing with idolatry in its usual sense in these cults, but rather with a form of thanksgiving of a quasi-religious character offered to the greatest of China's wise men, whom he, too, honored very highly, and also with a somewhat unique method devised to hold the children to a stricter observance of the fourth commandment. And although it seemed to him to be far more sensible, not to say desirable, to use the money which they squandered in buying food-offerings, candles and incense for the poor, he felt that these cults, ancient and venerable customs of state and nation, could be tolerated because "they were free of all idolatry and probably free of every superstition also." At length, after long hesitation, he determined to regard the cults of ancestor worship and the veneration of Kung-tse as explicitly permissible; and after fifteen long years spent so resignedly in thorough preparation he at last harvested some success as a missionary.

### Ricci's First Congregation

Now for the first time he could gather a congregation openly at Nanking, and, in 1599, even consecrate a church. Now after he had gained this foothold in China's chief religious center, it seemed necessary also to gain a sure and permanent place for the mission at the political capital of the kingdom, Peking. Thanks to the reputation which he had won as a mathematician and astronomer, he succeeded in gaining an audience with the Emperor, Wan-Li, in 1601.

Ricci made a very favorable impression on him by his wise speech and by means of a number of curiosities which had never been seen in China, a music box and a clock. The Emperor gave him free entrance to the palace, a year's allowance, and also commissioned him to sketch a map of China. In the sight of all China Ricci was a wonder, a paragon, a personage of authority; and now he dared to come out more boldly as a missionary.

In his first pamphlet issued in Chinese, *The True Teaching About God,* by which he sought to gain converts to Christianity, he had remained completely silent about the crucifixion of the Saviour, something which was both offense and foolishness to the Chinese. But now, in addition to quite a series of astronomical and geographical works, he issued an excellent translation of the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament in which the crucifixion was not suppressed. Nevertheless he felt justified, after the example of the Apostle Paul who had had a similar experience at Athens (Acts 17) in passing over this subject which seemed to cause so much offense in order to gain greater success in his preaching. The results quite exceeded his hopes.

### Ricci's Death: His Success

When on the eleventh day of May, 1611, in his fifty-eighth year, he laid down the excessive labors with which he had always overburdened himself and the vexatious trials of doubtful friendships, the cost of which had been endless dinners year in and year out, a flourishing congregation existed at Peking and also a Marian association.

### Opposition to Ricci's Methods

The reports in which Ricci conscientiously presented his experiences and recorded his discoveries in the Chinese classics with overflowing enthusiasm met with a very much

divided reception in Europe. General Aquaviva was utterly opposed to the new methods in every particular. The brothers of the Order, too, who were sent to China after his death as missionaries,—for example the famous Father Adam Scholl of Cologne,—entered on the work firmly resolved to end the much discussed "accomodations." But as soon as they had become somewhat domesticated in China they changed their opinions, and even went farther in the matter of "accomodations" that Ricci had ever gone.

### The Practices of Ricci's Successors

Not only did they suppress "the offense of the cross" constantly, they permitted the Christian mandarins to continue the practice of the fourteen day sacrifices in the idol temples; but in this practice they required the worshipper to place a crucifix before the idol secretly and to direct his prayers to it. They even went to the length of permitting the faithful to demand and take thirty per cent interest, a custom of the country; but for this they were held especially blameworthy in later days. They were very willing, when invited in 1645, to assume the direction of the Mathematical Tribunal at Peking,—in other words, to serve the Emperor as his official astrologers. For the Chinese considered the exhortations and warning which the fathers read from the horoscopes which they cast for them far more important than the reform of the calendar which Scholl, the first president of the Tribunal (✠August 15, 1667), and his companions had begun. This was a rather difficult undertaking, as they had to deal with and tolerate, as much as possible, the many traditional practices of enchantment current among the Chinese. There is no question as to their acting in good faith in this matter however: all astronomers in those days paid homage to astrology, more or less.

Their congregation at Peking was connected directly with the Mathematical Tribunal, and their church, in which there was an inscription in honor of Kung-tse, had been designated by them formally as a "temple" in memory of the reform of the calendar.

The fathers experienced their best days under the Manchu Emperor Kang-Hi (1622-1722). This monarch heard Father Ferdinand Verbiest's (✝1688) instructions in astronomy, trigonometry, geometry, and mathematics very attentively. Following Verbiest's counsel, he erected a cannon foundry in his palace grounds; and the Emperor took him along to war to act as his adviser, named him "great man," and elevated him and all of his ancestors to the nobility according to China's approved, ancient custom.

Fathers Pereira and Thomas enjoyed a like influence after Verbiest's death. Pereira and his brother padre, Garbillon, were employed by the Emperor in political affairs; and due to their influence and standing, and with Father Thomas' assistance, they were able to have the famous edict of tolerance in favor of Christianity issued. This period marks the high-water mark in the history of the Jesuit mission in China.

### Roberto de Nobili—India

The distinguished Roman father, Roberto de Nobili, who was born in 1577, encouraged by Ricci's example, ventured to make a similar experiment at Mandura in South India. Nobili, one day, disappeared in the Brahman quarter of the town. There he dressed himself in the orange colored muslin garment, the red mantle, and the wooden sandals of the Sanjassi. Then he made a Brahman girdle of three gold and two silver cords, glued the Brahman caste-mark on his forehead with a paste made of sandal wood, pierced his ears with huge earrings, and shaved the top of his head completely. By

these actions he presented himself to the Brahmans as a new Sanjassi,—one who forsakes the world. The crucifix which hung from his girdle and which they regarded with suspicion he interpreted to them spiritually in the higher Tamil of the learned; and he accounted for the whiteness of his skin by telling them that he was by birth a rajah from Rome. He found a number of Brahmins who were willing to bring a little rice and milk and some vegetables to his humble dwelling every evening, and to instruct him diligently in Sanskrit. After a time, a garu (religious teacher, philosopher) informed him that he wanted to hold a disputation with him on the way of salvation. After a battle of words which lasted twenty days the heathen acknowledged defeat, was baptized, and thereupon became a zealous apostle of the new doctrine. Other conversions of this kind followed. Miraculous cures effected by the use of holy water, etc., helped the new muni (holy man) to increase the number of his disciples among the Brahmins materially. Then he boldly invited nearby and distant princes by messenger and letter to permit themselves to be instructed in the way of salvation. Hereupon the report was suddenly noised abroad that he was a Frank, a deceiver. But the Brahmin who had taught him Sanskrit at a meeting of eight hundred of his caste was able to allay all suspicion. This man, too, secretly committed the Vedas to writing for him, and was baptized. Similar incidents were of frequent occurrence.

### Nobili Accepted by the Brahmins

At length the time came, but only after long disputation, when the Brahmins acknowledged and received him formally as one of themselves. They gave him the name, *Tatwabodhaka-swami,* the prince-teacher of the essence of things,

and declared that every contradiction of his teachings was a punishable offense. Thereupon another storm broke.

### Nobili Accused of Idolatry

Fernandez, a fellow member of the Order, then stationed at Goa, charged Nobili with idolatry. Nobili was able to justify himself before a meeting of the Indian fathers at Kotschi; but his reasons were not satisfactory to the authorities at Rome. His cousin, Cardinal Bellarmin, adjured him, and the General, Aquaviva, simply ordered him to give up the "false way" he had taken. This was in 1613. Nothing else remained for Nobili to do except to give up, at least for the time being, the plans which he had made for the enlargement of his work, which he desired so fervently to put into effect, and to explain his methods or system in detail in a memoir.

### Nobili's Defense

At the outset, by means of a remarkable and critical review of the methods used in missionating up to that time, Nobili attempted to show the General why the Company of Jesus had labored in India with such evident ill success up to his time. The principal reason for this was an entirely too great indolence on the part of the missionaries. Not once had they learned the language of the natives decently, let alone correctly; and their ridiculous translations had actually made the Indians despise Christianity. (As an example: They had translated the word Mass, *misei;* this in the native tongue means *moustache!*) It was a sacred duty, he maintained, to translate the teachings of Christianity accurately, completely, into the language of the heathen. He asserted further that it was a duty not to make conversion unnecessarily burdensome to the heathen, and not to demand of them immediately on their conversion the greatest of all sacrifices,

renunciation of their noble birth, their citizenship, their caste, and make them pariahs. Such things as he permitted the heathen to retain, caste, the cue, the Brahmin girdle, the caste-mark made of powdered sandal wood, ablutions,—these, Nobili maintained, were in themselves mere *adiaphora,* to which, to be sure, all sorts of superstitions could be attached. But these superstitions *can* be removed. The history of the ancient Church clearly witnesses the truth of this: many ancient heathen customs of a similar character had been "deheathenized" and continued in the use of the Church.

These statements made no impression at Goa, but they made a favorable one at Rome. On January 31, 1623, Pope Gregory XV explicitly declared the so-called Malabar Rites permissible. After that Nobili was able to resume his labors once more in the old fashion.

### Work Among the Pariahs

He then began to work among the Pariahs, but only secretly, and always without coming into any personal contact with these Christians of the lowest caste. He carried this to such an extreme that he administered the host to them by means of a little cleft staff. He himself admitted that such a state of affairs, if permitted to continue, would be absurd, impossible. Therefore, in 1638, he instituted the Pandara Mission for the Pariahs; this was intended for them only. The workers in this mission were garbed like the priests of Siva, and were to serve Pariahs only; they must avoid all open or public intercourse with the Brahmin missionaries. Nobili carried this new mission also to success, very quickly.

### Nobili's Contribution to Linguistic Knowledge

Sometime prior to this he had started a literary propaganda in the interests of Christianity in Tamil, Badaga, and

Telugu. Although his knowledge of the languages showed some weaknesses, nevertheless with what knowledge he did have he was able to break and prepare the way in India, and at the same time gave to European scholars the first useful knowledge of Sanskrit and the Dravidian languges.

### His Death—Successors

In 1648, almost totally blind, Nobili found a retreat in the college at Jafnapatnam on the island of Ceylon; and in 1651 they gave him a home in the college at Mailapur where he could spend the rest of his days. There Nobili died on the sixteenth of January, 1656.

Men arose in the membership of the Order to carry on his work. Some in part equalled his great self-sacrificing spirit; such an one was John de Brito, who was murdered in 1693. Others at times equalled his talent for languages; but rarely like the great Tamil poet, Joseph Beschi (1710-1746), who even excelled Nobili greatly. Still others entered his work who went a great deal farther than he had ever gone in practicing "accomodations." A well remembered example was Father Calmette, who died in 1746. He deliberately fabricated the *Ezur-Veda,* pretending that it was composed of primitive Hindu texts; he did this in order to win the Brahmins perfidiously. A report concerning his colleagues in the Sanjassi Mission in 1699 still remains: *Ils ne sont pas connus pour être Européens.*

### Alexander de Rhodes—Cochin China

The French father, Alexander de Rhodes, used the "new method" in 1624 and after in Cochin China and Tonkin with almost greater success than had followed its use in India and China.

## The Malabar Rites

This wonderfully active man, both physically and spiritually, in whom Ricci's and Nobili's talents of adaptability and Xavier's tireless lust for travel and conquest seemed to be united, was able to arouse an unusual interest in the missions in Europe; and what was still more important roused the friends of the missions to new deeds. Due to him primarily the first special school for the training of foreign missionaries was created at the great seminary at Paris in 1663; but the new institution soon became a rock of offense to the Order. Those who went out from this school instead of working in the Order's interests worked mostly against them. The famous controversy over the Malabar and Chinese Rites which lasted over a hundred years witnesses this. In this controversy, which finally resulted in the destruction of the Jesuit missions in China and India, the issue, at first, was confined to a question of right regarding the Jesuit practices of accomodation. In its last and most embittered stage, from 1693 to 1744, it became, far more, a question of the force and validity of papal authority. The Curia's final judgment, highly unfortunate for the Jesuits, embodied in the bull, *Ex quo singulari,* of July 17, 1742, and in the bull, *Omnium sollicitudinum,* of 1744, cannot be the final judgment in the matter which will satisfy one who desires to examine the question under controversy impartially. Present day students of Hindu and Chinese culture are not in a position to make a strictly impartial examination. For even if they would be able to render a judgment on the religious character, the practical importance, and the range of the controverted customs, they could not render one on the practices of the Jesuits in detail simply because this would depend on their own personal views and comprehension of the matters in question.

Every fair judgment in such a question depends on an impartial observation of the practice and of its use in individual cases. In this case the historian must be content with establishing definitely that the inventors of these practices were men highly gifted spiritually and absolutely irreproachable in personal life. Further he must realize that only such persons as have been trained in the schools of the Jesuits would be able to force themselves successfully into the life and customs of an entirely strange people and virtually become "native" to it in body and soul, yet never degenerate to its level, that is, be absorbed or engulfed by the strange nationality. It is still more important for the historian to realize that these men evaluated the new task before them with great keenness and clarity of judgment. This task was to unite Christianity with a culture wholly foreign and strange to its nature. Whether they always succeeded in remaining true to the spirit of Christianity is open to a wide variety of opinions. The difficulty confronting one here is amply illustrated by the situation existing in Protestant foreign missions at the present. Here decisions in these very same questions represent a vast range of difference in opinion; at times they are direct opposites! That these men often established precedents and created methods in missionary work,—for example the methods they pursued in organizing a literary propaganda in the interests of Christianity;—that the heroism with which they approached the tremendous task before them deserves the greatest admiration,—over these things no quarrel exists any longer among the specialists of to-day, be they historians or missionaries.

### The Jesuits in the New World

While these things were going on in India and China other fathers were trying to solve a wholly opposite problem

in the New World, and, because of the way in which it presented itself to them, an entirely new one. The problem was, How could they bring about the conversion of the primitive races to Christianity? This task, it is quite self-evident why, forced them to adopt drastic methods of accomodation. But the first thing they had to face was not the necessity of accomodating the laws of God to the fashions and customs of a strange culture, but the necessity of providing a civilization for those wild races which would make it possible for them to apprehend Christianity inwardly.

In Brazil until the seventeenth century all of their efforts to this end were wrecked by the greed of the white colonists for trade, which the weak Portuguese colonial government did not try to curb, but on the other hand fostered. In Canada their efforts failed because the French administration tried to mix and fuse the natives with the European settlers. Only in the Spanish colonies did the politics of the native government give the fathers opportunity to meet the native question in their own way.

### The Policy of the Spanish Government

The Spanish government, following the custom of the Middle Ages, considered both the land and the original inhabitants of the new territories objects of conquest (*conquistu*). But Las Casas[9] had been influential in their adoption of an entirely new principle in their program of government: The Indians could only be urged to accept Christianity through instruction and persuasion; to make war against unbelievers was not permitted, nor was it allowable to enslave the nations simply because they were unbelievers.

Accordingly after 1558, the government had directed its colonial officials, in an unbroken sequence of laws and regula-

[9]Cf. his principal work, *De unico vocationis modo*, 1543.

tions, to use every peaceful means in an effort to get the nomad tribes to occupy permanent settlements and to be baptized. Every method of procedure which they were to follow in all such cases was regulated in detail; for it seemed to the government about as useless to Christianize the natives without getting them to live in permanent colonies as it was to establish them in settlements without converting them to Christianity at the same time.

The Spanish auhorities had adopted detailed regulations governing the plan and government of the new Indian settlements. They allowed them wide latitude in self-government, modeled after Spanish town government; but they took this precaution. The actual director of the civil government, the one permanent official of the place, who always was appointed by the king, was to be the priest. They also prohibited most rigorously the manufacture and sale of liquor. Nor would they permit any Spaniard, mestizo, negro, or mulatto to settle in the Indian villages; and always required, when such a settlement was established, that a considerable part of the land be set apart as public property. This was intended for cultivation, and all Indian inhabitants of the settlement were in duty bound to cultivate a part of it.

## The "Conquista Espiritual"

These laws exhibit all of the characteristic features of that unique system of civilization which Pombal and the writers in his pay or otherwise beholden to him have claimed ever since 1750 so successfully to be an invention of the Jesuits. The truth of the matter is that the Jesuits deserve credit for only this: They were the first to adopt the new method of conquest, the *conquista espiritual* (spiritual conquest). The Spanish government had been aiming at this for a long time and also had tried to carry it out in a number of places, but

this was always under the direct control of the Spanish Crown.

The Jesuits used this method for the first time at the end of 1609 on the north shore of the Parana in the Paraguay of to-day. In the same way after 1610 they labored in the Brazilian State of Parana (Guayra) and in the present day Argentinian Gobierno de las Misiones; since 1626 also on the east shore of the Uruguay in the Brazilian State of Rio Grande do Sul.

### "The Jesuit State in Paraguay"

The seven "reductions" or "doctrinas" (mission teaching stations) which they established in the last named state, the fifteen at one time located in the Gobierno de las Misiones, and the eight located in southern Paraguay, formed one association or province under its own superior; this was what has been called the "Jesuit State in Paraguay." The missions or reductions which were established later on among the Mojos, Tschiquitos, and Zamucos in Bolivia were quite similar in character; likewise those which they established among the Maynas in Ecuador and among the Caribs in the basin of the river Orinoco, among the Tobas, Macobis, and Abipones in Argentine, and the fishing tribes on the peninsula of Lower California, etc. The missions of the Spanish Franciscans, Augustinian Eremites, and other orders were modeled after those of the Jesuits.

The founder of the so-called Jesuit State, that is, the first pioneer and organizer of the *conquista espiritual,* was the first Jesuit provincial of Paraguay, Diego de Torres Bollo (✠1638). The only thing which Torres had to aid him in his work were the above mentioned royal laws and regulations,—these he considered both authoritative and directive, —and the benefit of the practical experience which he had

had during the seven years of hard work when he was pastor of the large Indian pueblo in the neighborhood of the lake Titicaca.

### Various Mission Regulations

Need one say that the so-called Jesuit State really never existed? The thirty reductions on the Parana formed, without a break until 1750, a part of the Spanish colonial kingdom just as truly as the Franciscan stations in Paraguay or the stations of the Augustinian Eremites in Venezuela described by Humboldt in his famous book of travels. The royal governors acting as administrators of the royal patronage chose one of three fathers nominated by the Jesuit provincial as the director of the reduction. They confirmed the local officials who had been chosen by the congregation. They drafted men able to bear arms from the thirty settlements for war service, also at times to socage on the fortifications at Buenos Aires and Sante Fe. As vassals of the king, the Indians able to bear arms, with the exception of the caciques, the sextons, and the sacristans, had to pay a silver peso as a poll tax yearly. These men were liable only to the Crown's services and taxes. Private individuals had no right to force them to labor for them or to impose taxes on them. This resulted in almost constant complaints from the white colonists, and frequently in open conflicts with colonial authorities because there always was a great lack of laborers in the colonies and the best trained labor was found among the large population of the thirty missions. This population exceeded 100,000; the highest number was 138,934 in 1731.

The Jesuits were never frightened by such complaints and charges; they knew exactly what the Indians could expect from the Spaniards: not civilization but "syphilisation" and slavery.

### The Bishops and the Missions

Ecclesiastically the thirty missions belonged to the episcopal sees of Ascuncion and Buenos Aires. It was the bishop's official right to grant canonical investiture to the Jesuit appointees of the governor and legally they could control their official activities; but they did not have legal authority to depose them. Authority to depose from office in any of the missions administered by clerics rested in the hands of the superiors of the respective orders; in these cases in the hands of the Jesuit provincial.

The bishops appeared at the reductions anywhere from every ten to twenty years to make their episcopal visitation and inspection and to administer the sacrament of confirmation. The great infrequency of these visitations meant that many Indians died without confirmation. On account of this the superior of the thirty missions was authorized by Pope Benedict XIV on March 3, 1753, to administer that sacrament. In *casu mortis* (danger of death), the priests also were authorized to administer it.

The reductions had to bear the very heavy expense of the episcopal visitation journeys; and even though the bishops did little or nothing for the Indians, they demanded tithes of them. The Jesuits resisted these taxes for a long time and naturally this embittered the avaricious prelates against them. After this state of affairs had existed for some time, the Spanish government ordered, on August 26, 1748, that each station pay one hundred silver pesos into the episcopal treasury.

### The Support of the Fathers

The thirty fathers who were the heads of the missions, according to Spanish-American colonial laws, were entitled to claim the *sinodo,* that is, a stipend allowed by the government of 933 pesos and 2 reales. The Jesuit General was

satisfied to claim only half of this allowance; but the fathers themselves never saw any of the money. The entire amount fixed in the budget for this purpose, 13,980 pesos and 10 reales, was sent direct to the superior of the missions, who lived at Candalaria. He had to provide the pastors and all other Jesuits engaged at the stations[10] with their necessary clothing, books, medicines, the indispensable glass beads, needles, scissors, all of which latter were used as presents for the Indians; also wine for the mass and for table use,—for every padre was allowed four bottles of wine per month. The state also bore the expense of the journey of the missionary from Europe to America. It did not begrudge these monetary grants because a *conquista espiritual* always meant good business and great advantages for the state. Whatever expenses it was called on to meet on account of such a conquest were usually, if not always, covered by the amount of the tribute forced from the conquered Indians. And if this did not follow, then the expense of the mission was counterbalanced by far by the gains which resulted to the entire colony through the spiritual conquest. Cessation of raids and wars made on the white colonists by the wild tribes, and a well equipped and well trained army at the Crown's disposal in times of war free of all cost were considered abundant compensation for whatever outlays the state might make for the missions.

### Mission Products

The Jesuit Order, on the other hand, had never made any material profit through the *conquista espiritual*. The only products of the thirty missions which represented any commercial value were matè[11], cotton goods, cotton wick, tobacco,

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[10]The highest number at any one time was eighty.

[11]Leaves of a South American holly, *Ilex Paraguayensis,* used in making tea; therefore also called Paraguay-tea.

hides, tables, cabinets, and chests made out of many-colored wood. A fine trade could have been established in matè had not the Crown, on the petition of the colonists, limited the quantity which might be offered for sale by the missions in the markets of Buenos Aires and Sante Fe. This was set at 12,000 arrobas, and at the most brought 4 pesos per arroba. In addition the missions were confined to these two markets only. Because of these limitations the returns from the sale of matè at times scarcely equalled the amount of the yearly poll tax required of the Indians; and the money made by the sale of the cotton goods and other articles, mere side issues in comparison with the matè, was used immediately in the markets of Buenos Aires to buy silk for church vestments, etc., salt, iron, and iron tools. To the great sorrow of the fathers salt and iron ore were found only in very small quantities in but a few of the South American Indian stations.

### The Tribes Among Whom the Jesuits Labored

The redskins who were the objects of the spiritual conquest belonged one and all to the aboriginal tribes; but there were marked differences between them. Comparatively speaking, the most civilized of the tribes were the horsemen of the Gran Chaco, the Abipones, the Tobas, and the Macobis; the least developed were the man-shy Caribs[12], cannibals who lived in the eastern and northern parts of the so-called Jesuit State; these immediately killed and ate every stranger who came in sight. Just as shy, but not as wild and avid for human flesh, were the natives who belonged to the forest tribes, the Guayaquis (Guiacures?) whose actions reminded the fathers very strongly of monkeys. One step higher stood the Guananas, the Zamucus, the Tschiquitos, and above them all the great tribe of the Guaranis. The Jesuits regarded

[12]From Spanish *Caribe,* Carib—cannibal.

the last as the most important by far. They were cannibals and utterly unconscious of their nakedness; but practiced agriculture in primitive ways, and did not look on every person of a strange tribe as any enemy and a means of nourishment.

### Characteristics of the Aborigines

The fathers always emphasized the great differences in natural traits in their wards far more than their even greater differences in spiritual endowment. They always found their ability to remember astonishing, their ability to understand unbelievably weak, and their emotions entirely undeveloped. There was no place in their hearts for conjugal and parental love, so it seemed. The only emotion kindred to love which they displayed was more like the "love" of a child for its dolls than anything else. This lack of affection was not only evident in connection with their very poorly nourished offspring, who were left to grow up wild, as best they could, but also in connection with the few animals which they always kept only for a short time. They never kept "domestic" animals, only animals for sport or play.

Fear and hope concerned them even less than love. They lived their lives without thought or care, as serenely as children; and when death came they died like children, so easily, as if death were a pleasant diversion. When once they had placed their trust in anyone they were both tractable and ready to believe, again just like children. They believed instantly whatever the padres told them, even without asking a curious or inquisitive question. Acceptance of Christianity, therefore, never caused them the least mental difficulty.

From the beginning of their dealings with these peoples the fathers had to take into account their proclivities for play. The fathers would dance, sing and play for them. They were incredibly passionately fond of music, and scarcely any-

thing else gave them as much pleasure as to sing a song themselves or play some musical piece. On account of this the fathers, whenever it was at all possible, saw to it that every church had right many bells, and one, two, even three, organs!—and besides, all the musical instruments with which they were acquainted in Europe and America. The fathers also arranged for the performance of vocal and instrumental music in connection with the celebration of every one of the numerous Church feasts, also at every High Mass, and at every wedding. They even taught them songs to sing as they marched out to their common daily labor. Voices necessary for these performances existed in goodly number, especially good sopranos and tenors "without number"!

The conversion of these heathen to Christianity was not the most difficult problem the fathers had to solve. This, as they often declared, never cost them any great trouble. The difficult problem consisted in accustoming these children of nature, who wandered in the virgin forests and on the steppes in complete freedom, to the confinement of a permanent settlement. This complete break with their former manner of life and not their new faith caused the shy children of the forests and the wild riders of the plains great physical and mental distress. Notwithstanding all of the fathers' great sympathy and care for them they, once they had been persuaded to enter a settlement, were much like trapped humming birds, darting here and there, ever restless and discontented, or took advantage of the first good opportunity to make their escape.

How did the fathers overcome these difficulties? They always distinguished very accurately between "restful" and "restless" peoples. The former "sow and reap," that is, they are agriculturalists and therefore adaptable to a permanent settlement. A mutual exchange of gifts was a great aid in

dealing with these tribes. The fathers used this to good advantage. They carried with them a great store of iron axes, files, needles, fish-hooks, glass pearls, salves and other medicines. Whenever it would help them they took a violin or flute, or later on a little Indian musical band, for the purpose of playing for the Indians, for then the natives were seldom able to resist them.

As soon as they had won the favor of one of the caciques, either by their music or presents or perhaps a few lucky cures, then they had all but won the victory. The one thing remaining which they had to do before they could count on complete success was to see that the new Christians would not suffer any hunger and did not become bored! To provide for this adequately cost the fathers more thought and time than teaching the whole catechism. For if they did not succeed in satisfying the voracious appetites of these red skinned children of nature and in keeping them entertained and in good humor by means of musical performances, dances, processions, target shooting, feats at arms and mimic war games, and in addition by daily generous grants of tobacco and matè, then they would suddenly pack up their few possessions and leave. In this fashion, the Tschiquitos, Zamucus, Guananas and the greater part of the Guaranis were "reduced," that is conquered, converted.

### The Horsemen of the Gran Chaco—the Forest Tribes

The conquest of souls, *conquista de almas,* among the wild tribes, the horsemen of the Gran Chaco for example, was very much more difficult. Here the fathers had to labor under the greatest hardships and privations, often for years, before they were fortunate enough to influence a few families to form a little colony. This once accomplished, progress thereafter usually was rapid.

The Indians of the forests made them work hardest of all. The fathers could not persuade or constrain them in any way to leave the forests; and they did not dare to venture into the hunting grounds of the cannibal Caribs without an armed escort. None of these wild tribes could be "conquered" in peaceful ways. The few who fell into the hands of the fathers and their Christian redskins during such expeditions refused steadfastly to touch the nourishment offered them and soon died. The merest beginnings in teaching them other habits of life were all that could be attempted even with the children and then only when they were quite small. If they were a little older, even these could not be changed, for, true to their nature, like hyenas, they would root out and gnaw at the bodies of the dead!

The less wild but uncommonly man-shy tribes of the forests, such as the Guayaquis, could only be taken "like monkeys." The "old ones," who had grown up in the forests, soon died "in captivity"; only the "young ones" could be "trained" quickly. The fathers were compelled to adapt their every action to the very small intelligence of these natives in their efforts to "capture" their souls, and after they had succeeded treat them as patiently and carefully.

The horsemen of the Pampas, who in their native state ravaged and robbed whenever they needed anything, learned rather quickly to take care of themselves up to a certain point. But the Guaranis, the Tschiquitos and even the descendants of the aboriginal Indians of the forests, who had never known what it was to keep a stock of food on hand, could not be taught to do this. They simply could not comprehend that they had to work and store up in order to provide for the days of need and for the aged and sick, nor that the oxen and horses entrusted to them needed food as much as their dearly loved chickens. Either they allowed these

valuable animals to starve or, as was more often the case, ate them up at one sitting.

They had absolutely no love for the soil. On their own impulse they never cultivated more than a garden or two, nor did they ever think of cultivating these in any other than the very primitive way in which they had been accustomed to always. Neither did they regard these as strictly their own private property. Whoever happened to be hungry simply fetched whatever he needed from his neighbor's garden, and never feared that he would be prosecuted as a thief on account of this. But they guarded their very scant store of ornaments very jealously, like children; these were their very own property!

There was but one thing left for the fathers to do if they did not want their wards to die of hunger, and that was to set apart the largest part of the allotted land, as the law allowed, as *Tupambae*, God's property, and have it cultivated in the interests of the common good. The *Abambae*[13], the remainder, intended for the private use of the Indians, they did not make any larger than the red skinned Christians desired. Thus the system of mission management which was characteristic of the Jesuits' methods in the majority of their stations originated. This has been quite wrongly called Christian communism.

However these methods of managing the common property were not carried out either as extensively or in the same way at all stations, but only in the reductions of the so-called Jesuit State. Others copied them also. At the Franciscan Guarani Mission like methods were used very rigidly. The Franciscans allowed the Calchaquis near Santa Fe great freedom in the management of their private holdings, exactly as the Jesuits had done among the Indians of

[13] *Aba*, of the Indians; *mbae*, things.

the Pampas. Of course it is quite evident in all of this that the fathers were not attempting to devise and enforce an ideal in the management of the missions; but that their primary concern was to meet the needs as they arose and solve the problems advantageously to all concerned.

### Labors of the German Padres

The success of the German padres of the Order who had been laboring in ever increasing numbers in Paraguay since the end of the seventeenth century seems almost miraculous, especially when one remembers the difficulties and handicaps which met them on every side and in every connection. All these notwithstanding they succeeded in training the Indians musically to a remarkable degree, and also taught them all the trades and technical arts of the Old World. They organized large choruses and orchestras among them; and taught them how to cast bells, cannon, and type, to manufacture mills, clocks, organs, and every other imaginable kind of musical instrument. They also taught them other arts: to paint pictures of the saints, to produce large sculptures, great houses, and to build the immense churches which, although they only exist in ruins to-day, still excite the wonder and admiration of the traveler. At the same time they developed the management of the mission land, the private gardens and the cattle to a flourishing condition.

However, they reported again and again that the Indian without an example and constant direction was slovenly, worthless, and could accomplish nothing; that, of his own impulse, he could be expected to use only the easiest and very minor crafts; and that as far as his actual necessities and requirements were concerned, he never seemed to be sensible of any higher than the few which were native to him in the wilderness and which he had brought with him

into the reduction. But they always add, that, like a child, he clung to the *Pais*, padre, and that his Christianity, that is, his churchly conduct, left nothing to be desired.

### Jesuit Missionary Methods Criticised

All of this does not seem to be an altogether brilliant or flattering accomplishment. As a consequence there has been no dearth of critics. These have held the Jesuits responsible for the very defective intelligence of the Indians, as though they had not attempted to raise it to a higher plane! But this criticism does not need a critic, for beyond it there is a question which is perfectly justified and which must be asked first of all.

The question is: Whether the Spanish government and the Jesuits who did not want to leave these mentally and frequently physically backward races continue in their aboriginal state,—which they could have done very easily!—whether they had not done well at least when they tried to conserve to these simple and genuine peoples the very meagre measure of civilization they did possess, and to "develop" this, although only very slowly at best? However, the criticism only touches the Spanish government by half, the Jesuits not at all! The government attempted in every way to save and maintain the most important part of their "civilization," the distinctive tribal and national characteristics, such as government, customs, etc. But the Jesuits busied themselves frankly and openly against this and the government's policy. They strove to preserve to these races what they thought was their best possession, their mother tongue. They developed the principal language of the southeast, that of the Guarani, as the *lingua geral*, and made it the language used universally in trade and writing. They would not permit the practice of sorcery or the use of occult power, which

the Indians venerated superstitiously and greatly, principally on account of hygienic reasons. And they had to wean them away from the very few primitive crafts which they practiced and the very simple and almost useless ways in which they "managed their affairs," and teach them others, because they did not want them to starve to death.

### The Self-Sacrificing Service of the Jesuits

This favorable testimony must be accorded them: In union with the Spanish government, the fathers did everything that possibly could be done under the circumstances under which they labored, whether favorable or compelling, to raise the Indians to a higher state of civilization, and to save them from the sad fate of the Caribs on the Antilles. And last of all, one dare not forget what great courage and self-denial were required in all this labor in those days in the primitive forests along the Parana and the Uruguay and on the steppes of the Gran Chaco. The founders of those missions were unquestionably all real heroes and martyrs even when they did not pay for their daring with their lives; and many of their deeds are as fascinating and thrilling as some of the old hero sagas, only transported into the aboriginal forests of Brazil.

Such an one is the story of the journey of Fathers Massetta and Cataldino in 1631 with 12,000 Guaranis, whom they had but lately gathered in, from the reduction in Guatra, which was threatened by the slave-drivers of Sao Paulo, to the reduction along the Uruguay and Parana, which lay 1200 kilometers to the south. Place on the roll of honor also the fathers who succeeded them and became the providers of a living for a few thousand hungry, lazy, careless and spiritually poor redskins. Remember these men existed under conditions where there was nothing of a spiritual character

to give them inspiration and to stimulate and encourage them to further endeavor; where there was not even a possibility for them to hold simple converse freely, frankly, completely. They spent their *whole lives* in the wilderness; and they are not to be blamed because they did not succeed in completing their work! The blame for this must be placed on that civilized state which laid brutal hands on the great missionary creations of the Order in old Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, New Granada, Venezuela, Mexico, California, Brazil, in the Philippines, and at other places, and after the middle of the eighteenth century either destroyed them completely or allowed them to perish slowly.

### Jesuit Inventiveness in Missionary Work

It is easily seen that the Company excelled all the other orders in their spirit to venture, to undertake, by its many activities in this immense mission field; and were also the first to enter on entirely new tasks on a large scale, like the missions among the primitive wild races and among the civilized peoples of east and south Asia; and were the first to devise new methods for the performance of these tasks. Whether these methods agreed entirely with the spirit of Christianity, and are still feasible to-day or not, over this there can be justly quite a variety of opinions. At all events the Order was the first to use a number of altogether new ideas and methods effectively in this work which have not lost their value for the mission work of to-day. Some of these methods—for example, the literary propaganda among the civilized peoples and education and useful trades among the wild races—the Company was first to use, and to-day all missionaries of whatever faith use them under similar conditions.

### Other Results Due to Their Missionary Activities

The missionary labors of the fathers had another quite important result. It aided in the development of the Order's literary activity. It brought into being a new branch of literature, the Mission Report, which was created for propaganda purposes in the interests of both missions and Order. From the very outset and quite naturally, observations on other interesting matters were joined with the general reports of the labors of the missionaries, such things as geographic and ethnographic peculiarities of the new countries were included in the reports. These things frequently attracted the interest of the fathers to such a degree that they developed into independent labors, geographic, ethnographic, botanical, zoological, and linguistic in character. The results of these varied other activities are of somewhat unequal value, but one thing is certain: the Order contributed to the enrichment of geographic, enthnographic and linguistic knowledge and to the knowledge of the natural sciences to an unusual degree through them.

Further their widespread missionary activities offered first-hand opportunity to make all manner of discoveries. Father Marquette (✝1675) and the Jesuit pupil, Louis Joliet, were the first to navigate the great river of the west, the Mississippi. The Tyrolian, Eusebius Kühn (✝1711 in China), discovered the source of the Rio Grande del Norte and was the first to establish definitely that Lower California is a peninsula. His fellow countryman, Father Martin (✝1661), published in his *Novus Atlas Sinensis,* 1655, for the first time, a complete description of the Chinese Kingdom; this was the direct result of thoroughgoing personal investigations. The Portuguese, Anton of Andrade (✝1634), did the like for Thibet; and the Bohemian, Samuel

Fritz (✠1728), in 1689, drew the first cartographic sketch of the course of the Amazon River.

Another group of discoveries which the fathers made in the mission fields was of scarcely less importance. A Jesuit was the first to "naturalize" the chincona[14] tree in Europe; on account of this quinin was known as Jesuit-powder for a long time. Another Jesuit, but unknown, was the first to discover a method of cultivating the matè bush. Another, Father George Joseph Kamel (✠1706), after whom Linnaeus, the noted Swedish botanist and zoologist, named the Camellia, earned a great name for himself through his researches over the unknown flora and fauna of the Philippines.

Thus Jesuit activities bore rich fruits for the realms of science and general knowledge also. And their interest in these things is worthy of notice principally because the same distinctive tendency which characterized all of their ecclesiastical activities is very evident in these fields as well.

### The Missionary Crusade—Las Casas

The first Jesuit missionary, Xavier, aided the propagation of the faith with the coercive means of the civil powers. The idea of a Missionary Crusade made a very alluring appeal to him, a real Spaniard, exactly as it had done to Loyola. But the Order broke away from this characteristically mediæval way of thinking very quickly, even though its greatest saints never did. Xavier had also spiritualized missionary methods. It is true that he was not the originator of these newer methods; he only followed in the footsteps of Las Casas; but he was the first to put them into actual use on a large scale, and by the successes which he gained showed

[14]Peruvian bark, Jesuits' bark, a species of valuable evergreen found in tropical valleys of the Andes, the source of quinin.

that the Church could do without the ancient, cruel, and violent methods of the Propaganda altogether in her work.

### Effect of the Jesuits on the Catholic Church

After all of the foregoing one dare conclude and assert, without fear of contradiction, that the Order has imprinted the stamp of its nature upon the Catholic Church of modern times. For all of the characteristic peculiarities through which the new Catholic Church is distinguished from the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages: the absolutistic centralization of the Papal-idea and connected with this inseparably the spiritualization of the ancient Curialist doctrine of supremacy and ecclesiastical authority; the Propaganda and the war against heresy; the changing of confession into a means of soul-guidance, and the priest of the mass into a soul-guide; the new forms and methods of educating men for the priesthood (theological seminaries), of religious organizations, of disseminating the Word (preaching and popular, national missions), of Christian education (Christian instruction); and also the complete symbolization of religion (piety), its utter mechanicalness and complete subjection to the authority of the Church, and the Pelagianizing of dogma,—all of these, in the last analysis, originated with the Jesuits. In this way the Order enabled the Church to adapt herself to the new forms of religious life which had begun to develop after the sixteenth century, or at least had facilitated it; and thereby had made a fruitful and effective activity certain for her in the modern world also.

### Jesuitism—Catholicism—Protestantism

However the Order itself, from the outset, stood, in some respects, in an irreconcilable opposition to the spirit of mod-

ern times. It had not been founded and instituted specifically for the purpose of combatting Protestantism as the Theatine Order had been; but it espoused this objective with great earnestness, and endeavored to destroy Protestantism as completely as the Church of the late Middle Ages had destroyed the Cathari[15] and the Waldenses. In undertaking this the Order failed to recognize that Protestantism was a movement entirely, radically, different from the mediæval sectarianism. It was the deliberate purpose of those sects to restore primitive Christianity outwardly, mechanically, literally. Therefore the Catholic Church was superior to them spiritually and religiously. Protestantism, on the other hand, of its very nature, was the renewal of the primitive Christian piety (religion) *in the spirit of a new age*. The form of Catholic Christianity represented by the Jesuits, measured by the standards of Biblical religion which they themselves accepted, was neither spiritually or religiously superior to Protestantism. Now if the Jesuits had succeeded in crushing this new religious and spiritual power,—as for a little while they were able to think they would,—then their combat with Protestantism would not have done them any harm. But they only succeeded in delaying Protestantism's victorious onward march, and in saving the Catholic Church of Middle Europe from ruin. When this result of the Jesuits' war against heresy became apparent to all it must have been evident to the politicians and learned even in Catholic countries that the Jesuits' policy of extermination was a failure and that the idea of religious tolerance born of Protestantism, but only issuing forth triumphantly during the seventeenth century, was the only sensible norm for the handling of religious and ecclesiastical questions.

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[15]Cathari: Albigenses; known in Italy as Patarini.

### Jesuitism and the Supremacy of the Church

Then another thing was added to this. Although they were very zealous in attempting to spiritualize the ancient Curialist doctrine of authority, they only did this in order to make secure, at least in indirect ways, the Church's dominion over public and religious life. For they would not and could not give up the mediæval idea of an ecclesiastically directed and controlled culture, unless at the same time they would give up their very existence.

A strong movement in opposition to this ideal had already developed in the Middle Ages. The lawyers of that time, the doctors of Roman law, had resurrected from the Roman law the antique ideal of the omnipotent state; and never thereafter was this ideal completely forgotten Nothwithstanding all of the power and influence arrayed against it, it became, more and more, the most influential ideal in the circles of power and learning. At length, in the eighteenth century, it became *the* dogma and the question of the day. The Jesuits could accomodate themselves to this dogma readily *externally* up to a certain point, but they never could submit themselves to it *inwardly*. The position which they occupied in the sphere of Christian education and the immense power which they held through this rested and depended upon an unweakened continuance of the mediæval cultural ideal. And this exceptional and privileged position of the Company, to which they had come in their attitude toward the old order of human affairs, was the ground of the irreconcilable opposition on the part of the pioneers of progress.

### Jesuit Independence

Notwithstanding its great wealth the Order could not be compelled to pay the state's taxes or to render other state duties; nor could it be called upon to answer for transgres-

sions of its members. It would not grant the state councils the slightest control over its plans and actions, even though other religious orders in the leading Catholic state, France, and in other countries, had, for a long time, been subject to oversight and control of the civil authority. It would not permit the authorities as much as a glimpse into the inner management of its numerous educational institutions. It took and held this position notwithstanding the fact that through its father confessors the Company had the ear of the monarch and his ministers; that, in addition, it always "co-operated," althought secretly, in the filling of all public offices; controlled the educational institutions either entirely or almost so; and considered it understood that all teachers and professors in those schools would be named by a foreign superior and their educational methods would be regulated by him alone, without giving any guarantee whatever that they would adopt or foster any methods or subjects of instruction for the youth which would in some wise be related to national or state interests. This attitude, so scornful of a[r] the ideals of the time, would not have been permitted to co[n]tinue very long if the fathers had been in a position to justif[y] the extraordinary privileges which they enjoyed by excep[-]tional accomplishments. But for a long time they had lacke[d] both the inspiration and the power which would have enabled them to produce these results.

### Decline of the Order

Around 1720 their schools everywhere had declined badly; faith in their unselfishness, which had been inspired chiefly by the fact that on principle they accepted no tuition fees, was completely buried everywhere under the mass of stories, not always invented by any means, which were told of the system they had in their schools for getting "gifts," of their

commercial enterprises and banking business, and of their legacy hunting. The good opinion of their moral and religious principles which had been prevalent was completely destroyed by Pascal's manifesto, now broadcasted everywhere, and the bold lies of the author of the *Monita secreta* and of other slanderous writers. In short, one is not surprised any longer at anything they do, not even at their pretended faithfulness to their supreme war-lord, the Pope: for they had insulted the popes most outrageously in the conflicts which Innocent XI had with Louis XIV, and in the combat over Probabilism and the Chinese Rites. This all the world knows: countless volumes, little and big, are filled with the stories of these things.

### Opposition to the Company

One feared the worst from them simply because one saw in them the embodiment of all the evil qualities which the exposers of the conditions of the priesthood accused them of possessing. They were considered the born patrons of all agitators and obstructionists: they were held responsible for the continuance of the traditional and antiquated, and therefore non-progressive, practices in Church, school, state, society, business and religious life; the burden of all of this was laid at their door. This was the unanimous opinion of the educated classes in the Catholic countries, and sooner or later was bound to show itself in action.

### Widespread Opposition to the Order Unites

When Benedict XIV condemned the Chinese Rites in 1744 the feeling was universal in France, in Spain, in Austria, and even at Rome, that the Order must fall. The only question that remained was whether the Catholic princes and the Curia were ready to leave it fall. Everyone knew

that since the days of Innocent XI the Order's position at the Curia had been badly shaken; that since the days of Innocent XIII there had been an anti-Jesuit party in the College of Cardinals; that the one thing which was prerequisite to energetic action was still lacking, a unanimity of opinion. A similar state of affairs, everyone also knew, existed at the great Catholic courts. The one thing that remained to be done was to make this unanimity of opinion effective in action by a tireless agitation of public opinion, by thorough and instant use of every incident which would cast an unfavorable light on the Order. Then no earthly power could any longer save the Order from fall,—ruin.

### The Company's Fall—1773

The Order fell, as Pope Clement XIV pointed out, because it no longer kept abreast of the times. It succumbed to the attack of progress, enlightenment; and it dare not be denied that, up to a certain point, the Order deserved this fate. It actually did not any longer possess the ability or power "to produce the rich fruits and institute the helpful things" on account of which in former days it had been so greatly favored by the popes. It had become faithless to its ideals, and for a long time had been decaying within, when, at last, Pope Clement XIV, under the pressure of the Burbon Court, spoke the death sentence over it in the bull, *Dominus ac redemptor noster,* on July 21, 1773.

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